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Peggy Boyer Long



Lawmakers face some major challenges. Already the strains are apparent

by Peggy Boyer Long

So it begins. Illinois lawmakers have returned to Springfield and are getting under way on what could become the most significant spring session in recent memory — and most likely the longest-running since 2004, when an overtime session threatened lawmakers' July 4th festivities.

That year, the state budget was a shambles. Officials were sitting on overdue bills, delaying obligations to public pension systems and ignoring needed repairs on roads and schools. Lawmakers took a swing at providing adequate per pupil funding but dropped the ball on inequities in school spending.

Now it's déjà vu all over again.

Whatever the governor says in his budget address, now scheduled for March 7, and whatever he says about the state of the state, it's clear that he and lawmakers face some major challenges. Already the strains are apparent among the key players.

What should we watch for in the next few months? Bethany Carson, our Statehouse bureau chief, says the state's fiscal status will be under scrutiny, certainly. Yet both Democratic legislative leaders are making bold and contradictory statements about what they will consider. That, she says, "puts

any new creative revenue ideas at the top of any watch list. We'll be watching for tax reform and privatization of the tollway system or the lottery. And there's always the proposal to expand gaming, with the possibility of creating four new casinos in the Chicago area."

But that's just half of the equation. "On the spending side," she says, "we're really going to watch for what form universal health care takes and what kinds of education spending reform will be proposed."

What makes this session significant? "The amount the state owes in the long term is daunting and how the state prepares this year will set the stage for the future."



Deanese Williams-Harris is our Public Affairs Reporting intern this spring.

Bethany will get some help covering all this. She is joined in our bureau this year by Deanese Williams-Harris, the magazine's Public Affairs Reporting intern. The graduate PAR program, headed by *Illinois Issues* columnist Charlie Wheeler here at the University of Illinois at Springfield, gives student journalists a chance to work with reporters in the Statehouse Press Room each spring. And Bethany believes Neacy will bring "a lot of perspective to the job. She looks at things through the eyes of people from around the state. She grew up in Chicago and went to school in Carbondale."

Neacy received her bachelor's degree in journalism from Southern Illinois University Carbondale, with a minor in political science. While at SIU, she was accepted into the McNair Scholars Program, where she analyzed the ways in which the Chicago newspapers covered residents of the Robert Taylor Homes and the Stateway Gardens public housing complexes. She also had an internship at the *Southern Illinoisan*.

She has been tracking legislative measures for us. As an example, she spotted the proposals to require preteen girls to get vaccinated for the human papillomavirus, the most common

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sexually transmitted disease. Her feature on that controversial state and national issue appears this month.

What does she hope to accomplish as a Statehouse reporter this spring? "My focus is on trying to pick out what the public needs to know. I've tried to concentrate on what's important, the things that affect people's lives."

That's difficult to balance in a monthly format, of course. But Neacy has been helping Bethany with our Statehouse blog, which aims to track the action between editions of the magazine.

Now would be a good time to plug the magazine's online efforts. In fact, our recent reader survey shows that few of you are aware of our Web site or the Statehouse blog. Just under a third of you say you get your information about state government and politics through the Internet on a daily basis. Almost a quarter of you use the Internet to get

such information several times a month. Yet 71 percent of you say you never use the magazine's Web site or blog — and the majority of you say you didn't know we had a Web site or a blog.

So here's our Web site address: <http://illinoisissnes.uis.edu>. And here's a tip: If you forget the address, we put it at the bottom of every page of the magazine and repeat it on the first page of the Briefly and People sections.

Bethany's blog is easily reached through the link at the top of our site. And she strives to provide links to more information. "The blogosphere," Bethany says, "gives us the opportunity to be immediate, while the magazine fills in the details. We can update between issues and give you a heads up on what to look for in the next magazine."

We think it's worth your while to check it out. □

Peggy Boyer Long can be reached at peggyboy@aol.com.

Good reviews

Readers applaud the magazine

We're still mulling the meaning of our latest reader survey, but one result is clear. An overwhelming 91 percent of you rated *Illinois Issues* excellent or near-excellent. In the three surveys we have conducted over the past two decades, our "favorables," as they say in politics, keep going up. Another indicator is going up, too. A decade ago, 23 percent of you considered yourselves Internet savvy. Now, 80 percent of you can be called Internet savvy. That's why we're weighing additional ways to get information to you.

Still, we know the vast majority of you see the need for the kind of public affairs reporting and analysis the magazine provides. One of you gave this reason: "I read about issues that aren't even mentioned in the local news."

More than two-thirds of you say there is added value in our annual *Roster of State Government Officials*, which comes out this month (see inside for information on orders). It's "clear and concise," one of you wrote.

It's especially gratifying to note that support for the magazine crosses the partisan divide. Such bipartisan commitment is underlined by your response to our winter fundraising letter co-signed by former Republican Gov. Jim Edgar and former Democratic Comptroller Dawn Clark Netsch, both of whom serve on our Advisory Board.

"We haven't always agreed on the best policy (or political!) direction for our state," their letter notes. "But we do agree on this. We believe that *Illinois Issues* magazine is essential reading for all Illinoisans, no matter their politics or home base."

If you are among those who have yet to accept their invitation to join in renewing that commitment, it's not too late. Send in your contribution return card or call 217-206-6084.

Why is the future of this magazine important? Here's what one of you had to say: "*Illinois Issues* is the place to turn to for comprehensive, intelligent and interesting coverage of the Illinois government scene."

We couldn't have said it better ourselves. □

Illinois Issues

ILLINOIS DOCUMENTS

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Bethany Carson



The next generation of women leaders could build on existing rights, but we'll want more

by Bethany Carson

Regardless of the candidate, I'm sick of the buzz about whether America is ready for a female president. Maybe voters don't think a woman can win, or maybe women voters in particular take special coaxing to be won over by a female candidate.

But there are women leaders all over the world. Finland, Ireland, India, Sri Lanka, Chile, East Germany and the Philippines, to name a few countries, have already had female presidents or heads of state, according to the International Women's Democracy Center, a Washington, D.C.-based group for women in government.

U.S. women have already shown the ability to lead, with room to grow. Congress has 74 female lawmakers, up by three from the previous Congress. Three of them represent Illinois. In state government, 49 women make up about 27 percent of the legislature. They have a voice in state executive decisions, too. That's in addition to those who run advocacy groups and the growing number of women in the Statehouse Press Corps (there's now 11, up from four 30 years ago).

Things started to change about 45 years ago. Dawn Clark Netseth, then Dawn Clark, was first in her Northwestern University law class and worked her way through state government to become the first female legal adviser to Gov. Otto Kerner in 1961.

Women in the 1960s wanted a voice, the freedom to stand up to men. In the mid-'70s, they crusaded for equity, the right to be treated the same as men.

Paula Wolff joined state government eight years later when she worked in the budget office of then-Gov. Richard Ogilvie. "There were two friends of mine that I recruited to come with me — we were the three women," she says. "Our salaries were quite different from those of the men. Arguably some of the men had had more experience, but I think we didn't even see that as an issue at the time. We were just happy to be hired, to be included in the discussions about making decisions and to be respected for our ideas and our skills."

Women in the 1960s wanted a voice, the freedom to stand up to men. In the mid-'70s, they crusaded for equity, the right to be treated the same as men. Now they want both. But there's more. Working women — leaders and support staffers alike — want the ability to live a balanced life, kids or no kids. But above all, women continue to want respect for their smarts and their competence.

Equity isn't enough, says Margaret Blackshire, the first woman president of

the Illinois AFL-CIO, who retired this year. "When we get equality, it only lasts as long as you keep pushing and shoving. We shouldn't all have to do that."

Before she traveled the world advocating for labor, the former kindergarten teacher belonged to her local union and had male mentors because there were no women leaders, she says. She remembers taking her children to every meeting because she accepted caretaking as her responsibility.

Women used to think they had to be Super Woman, she says. But the next generation, including her sons, tends to share more family duties. Yet, she says, it's still a problem when women who take maternity leave are no longer valued by their employers. In other words, women have overcome barriers only to find new barriers.

Once women rise to leadership positions, they still have the challenge of balancing work and family life, but they're in a position to shape policies that could help others strike that balance.

Unfortunately for women in state government, Wolff warns that the addictive nature of policymaking has potential to distract from the instinct to nurture a family or a relationship.

Currently, just under half of the state's public employees, about 25,300 of them, are female, according to the governor's Central Management Services.

Since former state Treasurer Judy Baar

Topinka ran for governor, Illinois lost one female executive officer and has only Attorney General Lisa Madigan. She's among the Top 10 of *The National Law Journal's* "40 under 40" lawyers.

Gov. Rod Blagojevich appointed a female budget director, Ginger Ostro, and two female deputy governors, Sheila Nix and Louanner Peters.

Nix has three children, ages 6 to 13, and says she constantly feels rushed between her 24-7 job and her well-scheduled family life. But she says working for a governor who has two young children is a plus, and she wouldn't do the job if she didn't feel satisfied by the opportunity to use her brain power.

"If you're not challenged and interested by your job, then it's not worth doing all the work it requires to balance," she says.

Females have struck a balance in previous administrations, too. Two female deputy governors and a general counsel aided Gov. George Ryan. A woman led Gov. Jim Edgar's budget office and another his government operations. And at least a handful of females have led administration departments since the '70s.

Today, however, women head only four of the 26 state agencies. The most recent addition is Catherine Shannon, director of the Illinois Department of Labor. She came to the agency as the governor's former policy adviser on labor, having previously lobbied for two of the largest political action committees in the state: the Illinois Federation of Teachers and the Illinois AFL-CIO. She learned from Blackshere in a typically male arena.

"When I first started with the AFL-CIO, I was a young woman working with a lot of predominantly middle-aged men in the building trades unions," she says. "I would have expected them to question or challenge my giving them lobbying instructions, but they would actually listen to me and respect my opinions on legislative matters."

It helped that she had expertise in the intimidating topic, and it definitely didn't hurt that she gained the knowledge while working for House Speaker Michael Madigan. "The expectations at the speaker's office were very high."

She has since gained a family with two kids, ages 7 and 9, and a husband who shares in the department of laundry and errands.

Working women still don't want special treatment. Just like men, they want a balanced personal life. But without respect, the effort isn't worth it.

Now that she directs her own state department, Shannon watches for issues that could help other mothers strike the balance. One piece of legislation on her watch list would require businesses of all sizes to offer employees, unionized or not, up to a month of paid leave if the worker gets sick or has to care for a sick family member. The leave would be paid for by employee and employer contributions. Lawmakers are expected to reconsider the measure, which stalled last year.

Other health care measures rank high on Shannon's watch list. "People may stay in positions because of benefits because [the cost of] health care is so astronomical," she says. "And sometimes people might stay in jobs that aren't as challenging or maybe are too challenging because they need the health insurance."

Expanding access to health care for children and adults is a prominent item on the governor's agenda, says Abby Ottenhoff, who's responsible for getting the governor's message out.

She's unmarried and without children but being on constant call requires plenty of sacrifices, something she weighed before accepting the position. "I wanted to make sure that what the governor and his administration would be doing would be worth that sacrifice. And to me, it certainly has been."

She accepts getting a few media phone calls every weekend as a part of life. "It really doesn't bother me. It may bother other people in my life more than it bothers me."

Women are working their way into the judicial system, too, but at a slower pace. In addition to two female Illinois Supreme Court judges — Justices Anne Burke and Rita Garman — more than a dozen other women are Illinois appellate court judges.

A behind-the-scenes leader is Cynthia Cobbs, the first female and the first African American to manage the Administrative Office of the Illinois Courts. She

oversees 125 employees, develops the nearly \$285 million budget and helps administer the Supreme Court's rules throughout the justice system, among other responsibilities.

Cobbs started out as a clinical social worker to help abused or neglected children. She says she earned a law degree in hopes of combining the clinical and legal approaches to the problem.

Her male mentor, Illinois Supreme Court Justice Charles Freeman, gave her confidence and a judicial nod to her current position. She has to pinch herself to realize she's not dreaming.

"To actually be in a position where you are able to relate to the justices of the Supreme Court on a myriad of issues, and to impact policy administratively on many issues, and to be invited by the court to offer advice and consultation is something that I think most attorneys don't dream of."

But women do dare to dream. Cobbs says she sees progress, particularly for minority women who work in fields they wouldn't have 10 years ago — law, medicine and corporate America.

"I think that we are recognized for the great skills we bring, the competence of our management style," she says. "While I don't think that women have absolutely, totally arrived, that we have balanced the scales entirely on the male counterpart, I think that we've made significant inroads and that we have a very clear presence in many fields."

Wanting job flexibility to balance family life doesn't mean women want special treatment, Blackshere says. "I absolutely refuse to accept that. You go to Europe and you see how they think of the family medical leave, and time off, and it can go to either parent so time is spent equally."

Working women still don't want special treatment. Just like men, they want a balanced personal life. But without respect, the effort isn't worth it.

It's because of previous women leaders that the next generation has a righteousness to want it all: a voice, equity, balance and respect. The wish list could continue to grow, but embracing women in leadership is the best way to realize the possibilities. □

Bethany Carson can be reached at capitolbureau@aol.com.

BRIEFLY

OBAMA MAKES A RUN

Springfield, Illinois, Saturday, February 10, 2007

Photographs by Bethany Carson

Right: U.S. Sen. Barack Obama used the Old State Capitol where Abraham Lincoln delivered his 1858 "House Divided" speech to announce his bid for the presidency.

Below: Obama was joined onstage by his wife Michelle.

Below middle: Obama's campaign drew reporters from across the globe. His political aides issued 500 media credentials.

Below right: The event also drew a crowd of more than 10,000 people. Law enforcement officials estimated the attendance was as high as 17,000.



BUDGET DEBATE Report warns of a growing budget deficit

Illinois debt will increase to \$6 billion within five years if lawmakers don't mend the gap between money coming in and money going out, according to a report by Northern Illinois University and the Center for Tax and Budget

Accountability in Chicago.

Citing figures from the Illinois comptroller's office, the report notes the state overspent by \$3.1 billion in fiscal year 2005.

"The budget was balanced that year because we didn't pay the bills," says Chrissy Mancini, the center's director of budget and policy analysis. "The next year, you're going to have \$3.1 billion,

plus the structural deficit."

The structural deficit means the state's revenue system doesn't keep up with inflation and population growth, which makes it more expensive to provide services. Repaying debt that has accumulated through several administrations and legislatures also consumes state revenue.

Ralph Martire, executive director of the center, said in a statement that expansion

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of Medicaid and education funding has added to the state's structural deficit, but wasteful spending is not the major cause.

Rather, the authors place blame on low-paying jobs, a flat income tax and a narrow sales tax. Also problematic are inflation, rising health care costs and the burden of repaying debt.

Recommended solutions include increasing the number of high-paying jobs in the state so workers can spend more money in the Illinois economy.

A more politically challenging task, however, would be to change Illinois' tax structure. The state income tax rate is flat across all income levels. The report argues that taxing a higher percentage of affluent residents' income could ease the burden on lower-income households and allow families to have more money to spend in the economy. Implementing a graduated income tax rate would require a state constitutional amendment. Tax reform also could include expanding the state sales tax to such services as haircuts. And the report recommends reducing the burden on local property taxes to fund education.

House Speaker Michael Madigan and Senate President Emil Jones Jr. have said they are prepared to consider tax reform, but Gov. Rod Blagojevich has vowed not to raise general state taxes in his second term.

"We simply don't think that raising taxes is a cure-all to the state's structural challenges," says Becky Carroll, spokeswoman for the governor's budget office. "It's merely a Band-Aid. When you increase taxes, that increase in revenues will dry up in a matter of years because of inflation."

She says the administration will continue making the tax code fairer by closing "corporate loopholes" that "benefit large corporations who either have no jobs or very little jobs in this state but don't pay any taxes."

She adds the authors didn't reach out to the governor's budget office before publishing the report.

The center's Mancini says the report relies on state documents from the comptroller's office and the legislative Commission on Government Forecasting and Accountability.

Bethany Carson

THE CRIMINAL CODE

Don't put a carcass on top of a steamboat

Illinois lawmakers could consider ways to declutter a state criminal code that's littered with more than 40 years of sometimes confusing statutes.

A panel of Illinois law experts spent 18 months drafting recommendations for clearing outdated, unconstitutional and redundant language out of the Illinois Criminal Code.

The code swelled to more than 300,000 words over the years as legislators and governors approved "tough on crime" laws that deviate from standard sentencing practices, says state Sen. John Cullerton, who is a lawyer. He adds that some provisions fail constitutional muster or have gotten thrown into the code in illogical order.

The Chicago Democrat is one of four legislators on the Criminal Law Edit, Alignment and Reform Commission. The panel of lawyers, judges, law enforcement representatives, state's attorneys and analysts was chaired by former Gov. James Thompson and former Appellate Court Judge Gino DiVito. Both are distinguished law professors and authors on criminal law. The panel packaged recommendations into legislation for the General Assembly to review this spring.

"When the legislature edits, aligns and reforms our ancient criminal code, the job of lawyers and judges will get easier," says state Sen. Kirk Dillard, a Hinsdale Republican and lawyer on the panel. "Even the most seasoned judge and most experienced lawyer finds it incredibly time-consuming and difficult to navigate Illinois' archaic and haphazardly glued-together criminal code."

One goal is to wipe out such outdated laws as the criminal offense of putting a carcass on top of a steamboat. "Sadly, Mark Twain has passed away," Dillard says. "It's time for the statute to pass away also."

He calls the review process thorough and transparent, the way any major law should be approached. Only decisions made by consensus were included in legislation. Commissioners were required to attend meetings in person, and they usually had six weeks to review changes before each meeting.

"You really got to hear each side," says Peter Baroni, commission co-director. "And many times there were back-and-forths that resulted in an alternative being adopted."

One measure calls for the creation of an independent body to maintain clarity and organization in future changes. Another measure, sentencing reform, could be more controversial. Reducing jail time for some drug offenses, for example, won't be easy to support even if the measure calls for alternative sentencing and treatment programs. Neither will excusing some juvenile sex offenders from registering with the state for life.

"Nobody likes to appear soft on crime, but sometimes we need to be more sensible on crime," Dillard says. "Not only because it's the right thing to do from a human basis, but also to save the state money and use its resources better."

Bethany Carson

Air fleet costs millions

The state has lost nearly \$17 million over four years because the Illinois Department of Transportation hasn't billed politicians and businesses the full cost of flying between Chicago and Springfield, according to Auditor General William Holland's office.

A January audit found that over four years the cost of operating the air fleet was nearly \$20 million, but the transportation department collected only \$2.85 million.

That's partly because rates charged to business passengers have been the same since 1981. Rates for state officials and politicians haven't changed since 1995. Passengers are not charged for empty seats on flights. Because state planes are based at Springfield's airport, they often fly empty to Chicago, fly passengers to Springfield, fly them back to the Windy City and return empty to the capital city.

The audit found that the money to make up the difference comes from such sources as the Road Fund and the state's main general fund. Transportation officials say the goal has never been to make money on the air fleet, but the agency agrees to most of the audit's recommendations. The audit calls for a review of efficiency and better documentation of the reasons for the flights and the true costs of operation. Then the transportation agency could figure out the number of planes and helicopters needed and whether rates should be adjusted.

Bethany Carson

LEGISLATIVE CHECKLIST

This spring, lawmakers will consider proposals to generate money for the state, as well as policies designed to improve health and safety by banning smoking, limiting teen driving privileges and cracking down on Internet predators. Here's a sample of legislation to watch.

Gaming

Rep. Lou Lang, a Skokie Democrat, revived his plan to expand gaming to generate up to \$3.5 billion in the first year and at least \$2 billion each year after.

The measure would add four riverboats or casinos in Chicago and suburban counties. The nine existing riverboats that operate throughout the state could add more gaming positions, but they would be charged an \$18,000 fee for each new position. Lang says that could generate \$130 million in the first year. Horse tracks would be allowed to add slot machines for a fee, which could generate \$170 million in the first year.

Inner-city areas would get \$25 million for economic development. Another \$5 million would go toward gambling addiction services.

Another measure would separate the Illinois Gaming Board from the Illinois Department of Revenue, a move that aims to give the board independence from political influence or a governor's administration. A similar measure failed in committee last year.

Ethics

State employees wouldn't be allowed to receive perks from companies or people who hold state contracts under a measure sponsored by Rep. John Fritchey, a Chicago Democrat.

Legal, banking and consulting services would be prohibited. Individuals who have contracts worth more than \$25,000 wouldn't be allowed to make campaign contributions to any executive officer responsible for issuing state contracts. Bidders whose contracts are for more than \$10,000 would have to disclose their previous campaign contributions to the office awarding the contract. The comptroller's office could stop payment to

contractors who refuse to disclose that information.

In a separate measure sponsored by Fritchey, inspectors general reports of potentially unethical behavior would be made public.

Sen. Christine Radogno, a Lemont Republican, is sponsoring several ethics measures, including one that would require state officials to report gifts given to family members by political figures or groups. Also, the database that tracks all campaign contributions would have to be searchable by employer and occupation of the contributor.

Statewide smoking ban

Smoking would be banned in public places statewide under a measure introduced by Sen. John Cullerton, a Chicago Democrat. The ban would supersede county and city rules already in place. It would prohibit smoking in workplaces, bars, casinos and restaurants.

Driving safety

A measure called for by Secretary of State Jesse White would tighten driving rules for Illinois teens. Based on recommendations of the Teen Driver Safety Task Force, permits would be extended and driving curfews would be shortened to 10 p.m. on weekdays and 11 p.m. on weekends. Other than family members, the teen driver would be limited to one underage passenger.

Under a separate measure, if drivers get a ticket before age 19, they would be issued a restricted license for six months. The measure also would limit teens from transporting more than one unrelated passenger younger than 21 in the first year after getting the license. If caught, driver and passengers would be ticketed.

Two measures target cell phone use behind the wheel. One prohibits drivers younger than 19 from talking on cell phones while driving other than in emergencies. Another would require all drivers to use a hands-free device if talking on a cell phone while driving. The first offense would mean a \$150 fine. The second would result in a 90-day suspension of driving privileges.

Internet safety

House Republican Leader Tom Cross of Oswego introduced a collection of measures designed to protect children while they surf the Internet. Penalties would be stiffer for those who engage in sexually explicit conversations with minors online. Individuals who make online threats would face a two-to-five-year prison sentence. Schools would have the power to suspend or expel any student caught making online threats.

Immigration

Sen. Chris Lauzen, an Aurora Republican, wants the state to study the contributions and the costs of illegal immigration in Illinois. He says the facts could allow better discussion about his proposal to require state job applicants to prove citizenship before getting hired.

Abortion

Minors would need to notify an adult family member or clergy member 48 hours before getting an abortion under a measure sponsored by Rep. John Fritchey. Parents would not be allowed to force a minor to have an abortion.

Stem cell research

Senate President Emil Jones Jr. introduced a measure to create the Illinois Stem Cell Initiative of 2007. Rep. Tom Cross introduced legislation that would create the Stem Cell Research and Human Cloning Prohibition Act. That measure would allow research on human embryonic stem cells but prohibit cloning of humans.

Universal health care

Multiple proposals were introduced to help more Illinoisans secure health insurance through state programs, but as of early February none included details. Rep. Mary Flowers, a Chicago Democrat, would revive a grass-roots initiative to impose a tax to pay for state-subsidized health insurance.

Bethany Carson and Deanese Williams-Harris

Congressman's papers to WIU

The political papers of former U.S. Rep. Lane Evans were donated to Western Illinois University. About 400 boxes of official documents from committee hearings and other legislative meetings, as well as campaign materials, including television and radio interviews, are available in the Archives and Special Collections Unit of the university's Leslie F. Malpass Library.

The Evans Collection is the second-largest, after that of former U.S. Rep. Tom Railsback, a Moline Republican who was elected to Congress in 1966. Evans, a Rock Island Democrat, took over the congressional seat from Railsback in 1982.

"It's a great addition to our collection," says Jeffrey Hancks, assistant professor of library science and coordinator of the collection. "We'll have 40 continuous years [of political documents] for that district."

Evans, who did not run for re-election in 2006, was the ranking Democrat on the House Veterans' Affairs Committee and was a member of the House Armed Services Committee.

Alinsky group papers to UIC

The papers of the Industrial Areas Foundation, the national association founded by community organizer Saul Alinsky, are now available to the public at the University of Illinois at Chicago. They are held in the Special Collections Unit of the Richard J. Daley Library.

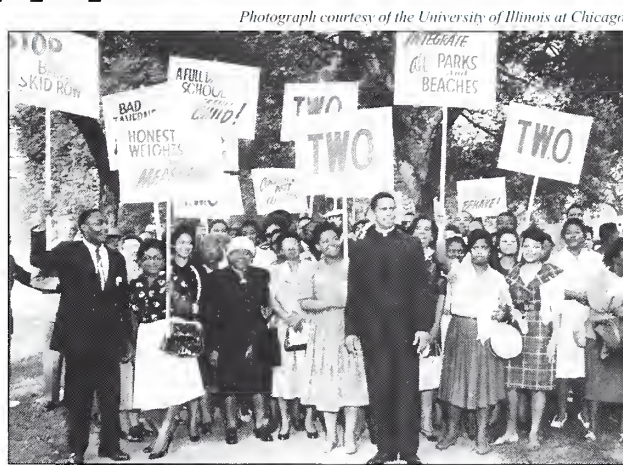
In recording Chicago's history, "this is a very important organization," says Ann Weller, UIC special collections librarian. "It puts in one place a very important collection that documents the political and social history of Chicago."

Alinsky, a Chicagoan, developed organizing and training tactics to help local groups of lower-income people improve housing, employment and education in their communities. Included in the papers are records of such groups as the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council that organized meatpackers around Union Stockyards for better working conditions and The Woodlawn Organization that organized African-American communities on the South Side for better living conditions. Both organizations are still active.

The Industrial Areas Foundation now has 57 affiliates in 21 states, plus teams in Canada, the United Kingdom and Germany. However, "this has been the base of the work for most of the life of the foundation — Chicago," says Ed Chambers, who worked for Alinsky for 17 years, then took over and still leads the organization as executive director.

The collection contains 173 boxes of annual reports, campaign materials, correspondence, newspaper clippings, organizers' field reports, photographs and training materials from 1941 to 2004. Materials produced before 1968 document the foundation under Alinsky. Materials dated after his death in 1972 reflect the current organization's procedures for organizing.

See www.uic.edu/depts/lib/specialcoll/services/rjd/findingaids/IAF.html.



The Woodlawn Organization was co-founded in 1960 by Saul Alinsky and Bishop Arthur Brazier (front).

Photograph courtesy of the University of Illinois at Chicago

HABITAT

Federal grant will help control invasive species

The coastal wetlands in Lake County provide habitat for four federally threatened or endangered species. In addition, the 3,300 acres that encompass the Adeline Jay Geo-Karis Illinois Beach State Park and the Spring Bluff Nature Preserve, owned by the Lake County Forest Preserve District, have the highest concentration of state threatened and endangered species and rare community types.

Protected from development by people, the area still needs protecting from some natural invaders. A \$350,000 National Coastal Wetland Conservation grant from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service will help to do that. The grant will be used to remove invasive plant species on 240 acres in the protected coastal area.

Common reed and hybrid cattails degrade habitat quality in wetlands by pushing out native species, says restoration ecologist Debbie Maurer. Aggressive woody species, such as cottonwood, sandbar willow and glossy buckthorn, act as hydrologic pumps, removing water from the wetland communities through evapotranspiration. When those trees dominate an area, she says, nesting and foraging habitat for certain animal species declines.

"They have changed the canopy structure," says Maurer. "The light levels have changed in some of the sedge meadows and have impacted the number of species found and the abundance of those species."

Particularly in the black oak savannahs of Spring Bluff and Illinois Beach, Maurer says, restoration of the canopy could provide nesting ground for the state-listed Blanding's Turtle. "That's a wetland species that nests in the most open, upland sunny areas." Ongoing population studies conducted by the Illinois Natural History survey will follow up on turtle movement after canopy restoration.

The coastal habitat project is a joint effort of the Illinois Department of Natural Resources, the Lake County Forest Preserve District, Friends of Illinois Beach, Johns-Manville Corp. and the Alliance for the Great Lakes.

Beverley Scobell

Beverley Scobell

UPDATES

- A migratory project designed to increase the population of the endangered whooping crane suffered a setback when 17 of the 18 chicks in the Class of 2006 were killed during severe storms in Florida (see *Illinois Issues*, October 2006, page 39; January 2002, page 8; July/August 2001, page 8; and November 2000, page 9).

- After spending \$12 million to test ways to make high-speed rail safe on the route between Springfield and Chicago, the Illinois Department of Transportation pulled out of the project's public-private partnership (see *Illinois Issues*, March 1999, page 16).

- The Illinois Student Assistance Commission sold 15 percent of its student loan portfolio, totaling \$648 million, to help pay for the governor's \$34.4 million college grant program for middle-income students (see *Illinois Issues*, June 2005, page 37).



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SUBSIDY STUDY

Wealthy Illinois areas get more state grants

Illinois state subsidy programs are "worsening regional inequality," according to a report released earlier this year by Good Jobs First.

The nonprofit organization is based in Washington, D.C., and is a joint project with the Chicago-based Center for Tax and Budget Accountability. The study, funded by the independent and nonprofit Ford Foundation, is said to be the first of its kind in Illinois.

According to the report, state grants issued between 1990 and 2004 benefited wealthier communities and rarely created jobs for people who needed them most.

The north and northwest suburbs of Chicago received the bulk of 782 subsidies, out of a total of \$1.2 billion over 14 years, according to the study.

Though Chicago had a higher population than the surrounding areas, companies in DuPage, Kane, Lake and McHenry counties received a higher percentage of the grants.

Businesses near affordable housing and mass transit in Illinois also did not receive a fair share of state subsidies, the report says. Specifically, communities with large African-American populations only received a "scattering" of subsidies. Only 3 percent of companies that received grants had easy access to Chicago public transportation.

"The economic sprawl that exists in some parts of Chicago and economically challenged neighboring suburbs may be a result of unconscious decisions," says Jeff McCourt, project director of Good Jobs First-Illinois. But, he says, the guidelines for state subsidies don't really target the areas with the greatest need.

"It's a pattern where most of the subsidies go to areas that are predominantly white, and if there are African Americans in those communities, they are clustered in certain areas."

The study also shows that rural communities didn't benefit as much as other regions.

The group analyzed information from the Illinois Finance Authority, the Illinois Department of Transportation and the office of the Illinois treasurer.

Andrew Ross, spokesman for the Illinois Department of Commerce and Economic Opportunity, says the report is "widely inaccurate" because 80 percent of the study focuses on companies that get bonds from private banks, not the state, to finance land, buildings and equipment.

McCourt disagrees. He says the governor appoints people to the Illinois Finance Authority, which coordinates the grant program.

Frank Beal, head of Chicago Metropolis 2020, a nonprofit organization of business-oriented groups, says the report demonstrates the state's need to set policies that focus on areas with high unemployment, affordable housing and access to public transportation. He says he's optimistic the report will stimulate some change.

The report suggests the state do the following:

- Reserve and target state business incentives to areas with high unemployment rates and low-income households.
- Require companies to justify business relocations.
- Require companies to report the effects of subsidies on communities.

Deanese Williams-Harris

Lawmakers reconsider education and tax reform

State Sen. James Meeks has reintroduced a measure he hopes will refresh the debate about education funding reform. Changes in the new plan are aimed at easing the state's pension obligations for teachers while lowering property taxes and improving equity among school districts. Most Illinoisans would pay higher income taxes and sales taxes on more services such as haircuts and labor for auto repair. Low-income tax credits would help offset the cost, says Meeks, a Chicago Democrat.

Despite Gov. Rod Blagojevich's campaign promise not to raise general state taxes, Meeks says legislators could garner enough votes to override a veto.

"I think the political will is there," he says, citing House Speaker Michael Madigan and Senate President Emil Jones Jr.'s comments that they would consider tax reform.

Chicago nonprofits tackle global warming

Leaders of diverse nonprofit organizations convened a town hall meeting in Chicago in late January to discuss solutions to global warming. Nearly 300 city-area residents attended.

The groups represented are part of the Climate Chicago Organization, a coalition of eight community, faith-based, labor and environmental groups that aims to unite Chicagoans in finding ways to reduce human-caused climate change. As of mid-February, 30 other organizations had signed on as co-sponsors of the initiative.

The meeting, which took place in the gymnasium of Whitney M. Young Magnet High School on the city's West Side, began with statements from a panel of leaders, including Karen Hobbs, first deputy commissioner for Mayor Richard Daley's Department of Environment. Then audience members broke into six interest groups for further discussion on such topics as rail and mass transit, local food systems and "green collar" jobs.

"Global warming is an issue that all kinds of groups can rally around — those concerned with labor, social justice, health, not just for the environment," says Tim Montague, a

co-coordinator of the town hall meeting and associate director of the Environmental Research Foundation, a group that focuses on environmental health and sustainability.

"With the event, we wanted to create a multi-issue movement and connect ordinary citizens to these existing organizations so we can use collective action to get things done."

Two years ago, Chicago joined nearly 400 cities in ratifying the U.S. Mayors Climate Protection Agreement, in which cities pledge to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions in keeping with international reduction goals (see *Illinois Issues*, October 2005, page 13).

The city has taken on efforts that include retrofitting buildings for energy

efficiency, planting thousands of trees and establishing the Chicago Climate Exchange, the first voluntary reduction and trading system of greenhouse gas emission credits in the nation.

But coordinators of the town hall meeting note that Chicago still needs to work on some major sources of greenhouse gas pollution: traffic congestion and releases from the two old coal-fired power plants within city limits.

"We want to develop a closer relationship with the city and have a dialogue with [the Department of Environment] about where we have common ground," Montague says. "We want it to be a cooperative but also assertive relationship. The city does have some good things going, but they need to do more."

The coalition plans to meet regularly for at least a year. The next meeting is scheduled for March 4 to discuss ideas the interest groups developed and to report progress on initiatives.

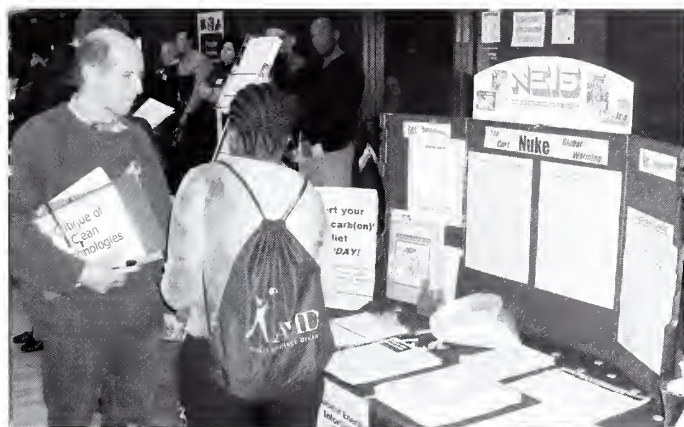
"We have a long way to go," says Montague. "To deal with global warming, it will take fundamental changes. But I think mainstream America is starting to wake up to the fact that we can't just go on with business as usual."

Vera Leopold

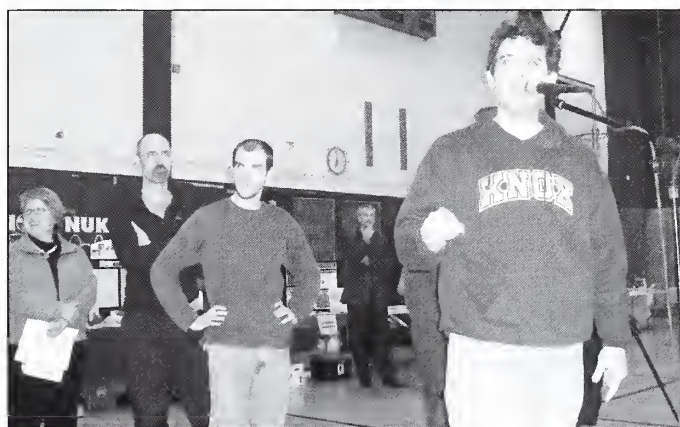


Photographs by Vera Leopold

Stephen Perkins of the Center for Neighborhood Technology shares his group's efforts to promote urban sustainability at a meeting on global warming in Chicago. The panel included Karen Hobbs of the city's Department of Environment (second from right).



Co-sponsoring organizations provided information tables at the event.



The audience participated in a question and comment period.

WOMEN'S HISTORY

A Civil War soldier's house to return home

The one-room home of Jennie Irene Hodgers, who lived most of her life in the guise of a man, has a history almost as interesting as the person for whom it was built. An Irish immigrant, Hodgers came to Belvidere at 19 years old and enlisted in the 95th Illinois Regiment as Albert Cashier. She served as an infantryman through three years' fighting in the Civil War.

Hodgers returned to Illinois and worked on farms and at odd jobs in Livingston County. In the late 1860s or early 1870s, one farmer, Joshua Chesebro, built her a house in Saunemin, 12 miles east of Pontiac. There she lived, worked, voted, collected her soldier's pension and marched in Memorial Day parades in her uniform until she entered the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home in Quincy in 1911 after an accident that broke her leg.

For the next four decades, the house was moved several times within the town, including its last use in the 1940s as a hatchery. In 1995, it was about to be burned as a firefighters' training exercise when

former Pontiac tourism director Betty Estes, who knew its history, stepped in to save it. The building was moved to Pontiac and put in storage.

But soon the small building, which is in serious disrepair with no roof and a sagging structure, will be returned to Saunemin — to a village-owned lot that is within 15 feet of where it was first located. Plans are to restore and furnish it to the time period Cashier lived in it.

Mayor Mike Stoecklin says he will seek some state grants to help with restoration because he sees the home and its history as a tourist draw, particularly for Civil War buffs, to his town of about 500 people "on a good day." He wants to make Civil War re-enactors an annual part of the summer community celebration.

"When you sit with these people in their camps at night, they are just a wealth of knowledge, and they know the Cashier

Photograph courtesy of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum

Woman Soldier in 95th Ill.



ALBERT D. J. CASHIER
or
COMPANY G, 95TH ILLINOIS REGIMENT
Photographed November, 1864



ALBERT D. J. CASHIER
or
COMPANY G, 95TH ILLINOIS REGIMENT
Photographed July, 1903

Jennie Hodgers at 19 years old and at 70

story inside and out — better than many of the locals," he says.

A tour of the Vicksburg battleground in Mississippi includes the story of Cashier, who was captured by the Confederates, but at 5-foot-3-inches and 110 pounds was able to disarm one captor and evade others to escape back to Union lines. Through more than 40 battles and skirmishes, she was never wounded. Though estimates count about 400 women who dressed as men to be soldiers in the Civil War, she is the only one who served for the full time her unit served, according to research conducted by DeAnne Blanton and Lauren Cook Burgess for their 2002 book, *They Fought Like Demons: Women Soldiers in the American Civil War*.

She hid her identity until late 1910 when state Sen. Ira Lish backed his car over her while she was working for him. The doctor who was called kept her secret, as did the senator, who used his influence to get her into the veterans home. However, after two years her secret was revealed to all when two male nurses tried to give her a bath. The publicity and her declining mental health led to her being declared insane and sent to an asylum, where she was forced to dress like a woman for the first time in her adult life.

She died in 1915, and her friends and fellow soldiers honored her wish to be buried in Saunemin in her Civil War uniform. The headstone reads Albert D.J. Cashier, 95 ILL. INF.

Beverley Scobell

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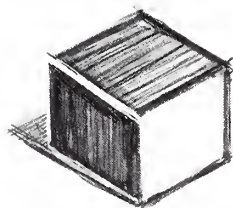
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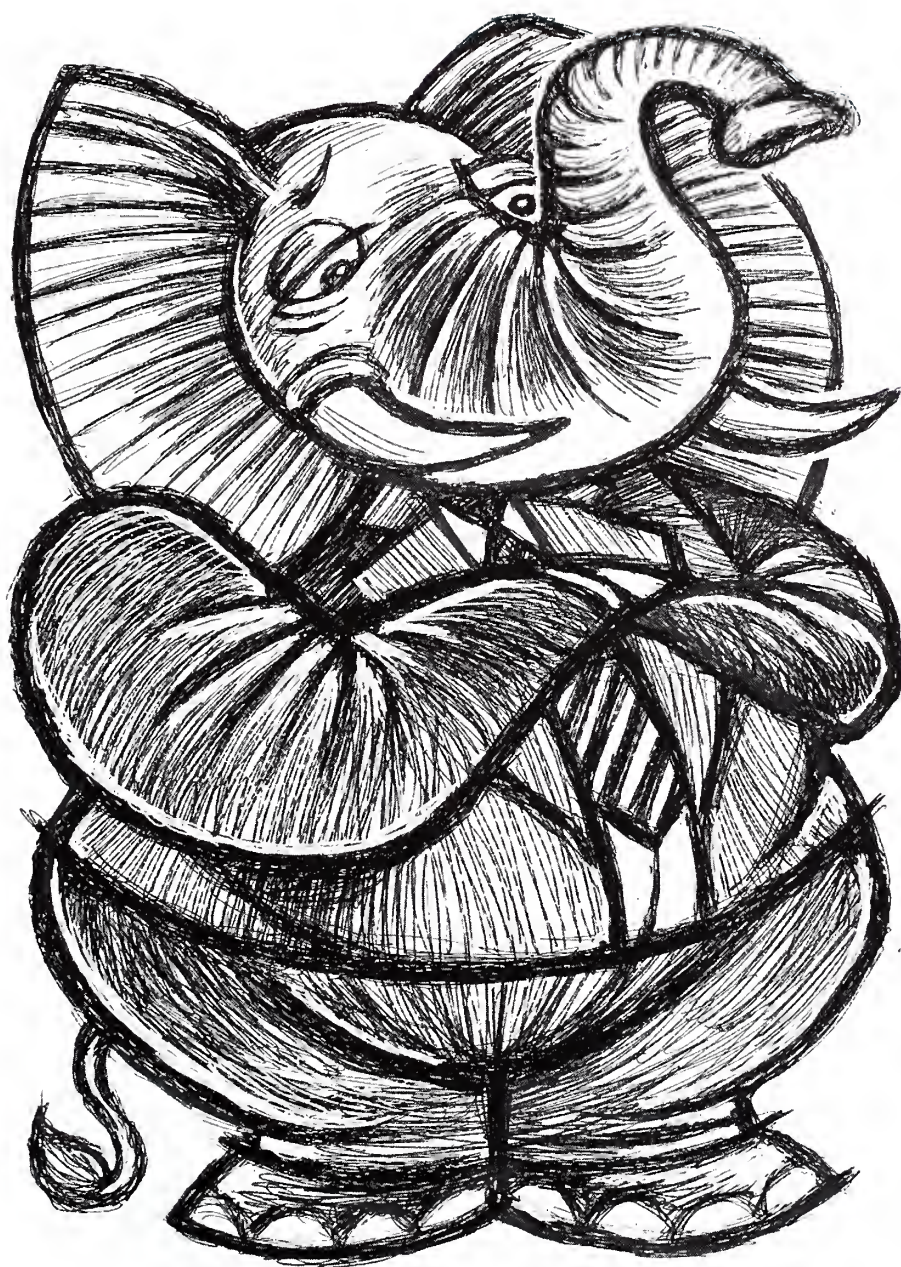
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The Illinois GOP

puzzles over ways to rebuild

by Aaron Chambers
Illustrations by Kathleen Riley Young

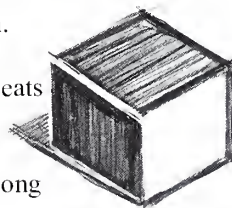


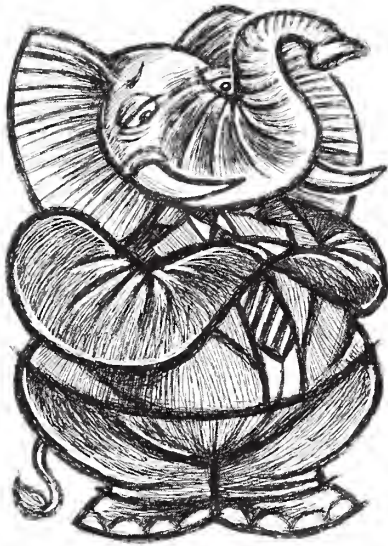
A blank space presents the perfect opportunity and the ultimate uncertainty. With no blueprint, any structure is possible. On the other hand, no plan means no guarantee. The best design remains elusive.

Illinois Republicans know the feeling. As they contemplate ways to rebuild their party following a string of defeats leaving them nearly powerless in Springfield, they're staring at the equivalent of a blank space. They are practically starting from scratch. The party does have a chance to redefine itself. With Democrats holding virtually all of the power in Springfield, and with Gov. Rod Blagojevich's administration under federal investigation, Republicans have an opportunity to offer a contrast. But there's no consensus yet on how they should construct such an alternative — and no guarantee on whether it will return them to power.

"If the George Ryan factor is not over, I think it's going to be over this year," says former Republican Gov. Jim Thompson, referring to the former GOP governor who was convicted of corruption. "And I don't think Republicans can lean on the excuse of the George Ryan factor for very much longer."

The GOP lost the only statewide post it held — the office of treasurer — in the November election. In the state Senate, the party lost five seats — four of them in the suburbs where Republicans have long





dominated the political scene. The decimation of the GOP did not occur suddenly, though. The scandals surrounding Ryan may have pushed Republicans off a cliff, but the party had been gathering at the edge for years.

The party's nerve center, which had been concentrated in the governor's office since the early days of Thompson's administration in the late 1970s, collapsed as Ryan went down. At the same time, the party's machinery in the suburbs, where Democrats have made inroads, fell into disarray. The GOP's message as the party of integrity was lost in the negative publicity associated with Ryan. And, even as establishment Republican leaders worked to contain the Ryan debacle, conservative activists worked to paint those leaders as morally bankrupt, more interested in enriching themselves and their pals than in upholding party principles.

The national electoral sweep that put Democrats in control of Congress this year for the first time since 1995 was just the final blow.

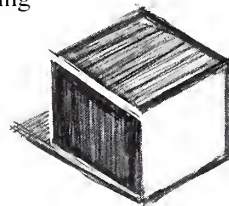
"We need to restore the public's faith in our party," says House Minority Leader Tom Cross, an Oswego Republican. "We lost respect and we did a poor job on the integrity side, and that's a combination of some things on the national level and the state level. Refurbishing our image is a very important component of this."

The GOP establishment was slow to accept the fact that Ryan was crashing the party. The longtime Illinois official was extremely popular among GOP

establishment leaders, and many in the party regarded him as a paternal figure. He served as Thompson's lieutenant governor in the 1980s, then served two terms as secretary of state before becoming governor in 1999. Last year, state Treasurer Judy Baar Topinka was loath to criticize Ryan — who had already been convicted — until the closing months of her campaign for governor.

At the same time, Blagojevich was able to shroud Topinka with images of Ryan, calling her "George Ryan's treasurer." He cemented that image with a television commercial showing footage from the GOP's unity day at the 2002 State Fair. Ryan was engulfed in scandal but, like other establishment Republicans, Topinka appeared determined to protect him. She stood beside Ryan, nodding and clapping. "You're a damn decent guy, governor," she told him, "and I love you dearly."

Winston & Strawn, the law firm chaired by Thompson until recently, is defending Ryan pro bono in the criminal matter. (The law firm also is representing Blagojevich, apparently in connection with the federal probe of hiring practices in his administration, though Blagojevich is a paying client. During 2005 and 2006, Blagojevich's campaign paid Winston & Strawn \$952,517.24 in legal fees.)



Cross says voters are used to hearing stories about corrupt Chicago Democrats, but they expect Republicans to meet higher ethical standards. When Republicans fail the ethics test, Cross believes, voters punish them disproportionately. "When we take a hit on ethics, it's a huge hit," he says.

The unraveling of the party's stature laid bare the fragility of its statewide organization and the gulf between its leadership and its base. That weakness, ironically, may have resulted partly from the long string of top-of-the-ticket victories. The levers of party control were concentrated in the governor's office through 26 years of Republican rule under Thompson, former Gov. Jim Edgar and Ryan.

During that time, Illinois trended increasingly Democratic, what political consultants and pundits call blue. For example, Democrat Jimmy Carter won 41.7 percent of the statewide vote in 1980, while Republican Ronald Reagan won 50 percent. But in 1996, Bill Clinton won 54.3 percent. And in 2004, Democrat John Kerry won 54.8 percent of the vote, while President George W. Bush won just 44.5 percent.

"It's tough to have a strong party structure without having the governor's office, even in these days where, you know, patronage is a forbidden term," Thompson says. "Holding the governor's office allows you to do things for the state of Illinois that make people feel good, and you can unify around these things."

The governor was the party's figurehead. Thompson and Edgar, in particular, were popular leaders who inspired voters to support the GOP.

"The governor has the bully pulpit," Edgar says. "People know about the governor."

Statewide political organizations are not what they used to be. Increasingly, campaigns are driven by flashy candidates and television commercials, rather than party slating and palm cards. Last year, for instance, the Illinois Democratic Party couldn't deliver a nomination for the one nonincumbent statewide candidate it backed in the primary election. Following the wishes of House Speaker Michael Madigan, a Chicago Democrat who is that party's state chairman, Democrats slated Knox County State's Attorney Paul Mangieri for treasurer, but primary voters nominated Chicago banker Alexi Giannoulis, who enjoyed a personal endorsement from ultrapopular U.S. Sen. Barack Obama.

"When people talk about the Republican organization not being strong and that somehow this happened during the Thompson and Edgar years, I think you have to look at the Democrat organization," says Mike Lawrence, director of the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute at Southern Illinois University Carbondale. "Political parties generally aren't as strong as they were 35 to 40 years ago. Most campaigning today is centered on candidates and not on parties."

Edgar adds that local organizations,

from county chairmen to precinct committeemen, are the true machinery of a statewide campaign. "The state party can be helpful, but it's not the 800-pound gorilla," he says. "The 800-pound gorilla in this is still the local party organizations."

Yet it's clear that even on this point, the GOP has lost ground. In the November election, the party lost four suburban Senate seats, striking at the heart of the Republicans' geographic base. The Senate Democrats now have more than enough members to steamroll GOP opposition on any measure in that chamber, even those requiring a supermajority of support such as approving state borrowing or overriding the governor.

GOP leaders say the suburban losses stemmed from demographic changes — particularly Democrats moving outward from Chicago — and the pro-Democrat push in the national election. Senate Republican Leader Frank Watson, whose home in downstate Greenville is roughly 250 miles from the suburbs, attributed his team's setback to an "angry voter" phenomenon.

"I don't think the demise of the party in Illinois is totally an Illinois issue," Watson says. "I think there was an angry

electorate out there, whether it was the Iraq war or all the problems with Congress and the perceived and actual corruption there."

Watson says the four losses resulted more from this anger than from the region's changing character. "Demographics are changing every day, in the suburbs and throughout Illinois," he says. "A lot of what happened in the suburbs was a changing demographic, but it was more about the angry voter."

Still, it appears there was more at work in the suburbs than voter antipathy to national politics. Senate President Emil Jones Jr., another Chicago Democrat, and Madigan took distinctly different approaches to their coordinated campaigns. Election Day outcomes followed those strategies. While Jones went on the offensive, Madigan largely focused on defending his incumbents rather than trying to capture additional seats.

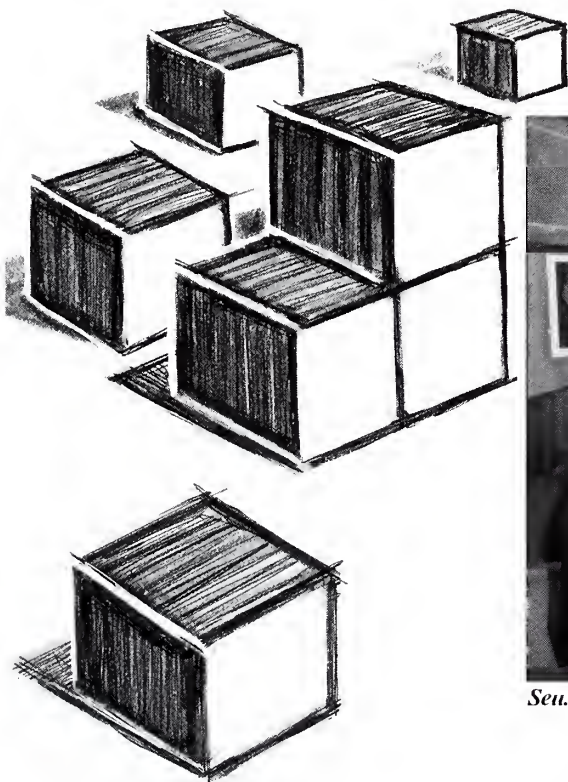
The House Republicans lost just one seat to the Democrats — the one occupied by Terry Parke, a Hoffman Estates Republican — after Madigan launched an attack in the final weeks of the campaign. Democrat Fred Crespo of Hoffman Estates, the speaker's candidate, captured the seat.

It didn't help Republicans that they had just one incumbent among the four Senate races they lost. And this incumbent, Cheryl Axley of Mount Prospect, had held her seat only since September 2005, when she was appointed to fill out the term of Dave Sullivan, a Republican who left the Senate to become a lobbyist.

Among the other incumbents, Republican Steve Rauschenberger of Elgin ran unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor, Ed Petka of Plainfield did not run for re-election and Adeline Geo-Karis of Zion lost in the primary. The newly elected Democrats are Sens. Michael Bond of Grayslake, Linda Holmes of Aurora, Dan Kotowski of Park Ridge and Michael Noland of Elgin.

The GOP's attempt to keep a Republican in the north suburban district occupied by Geo-Karis, in particular, left egg on the face of its leaders. Geo-Karis came to the United States from Greece as a child. She earned a law degree at DePaul University, became the first woman to practice law in Lake County and served as an officer in the Navy. She was the dean of the Senate, beloved by Republicans and Democrats alike.

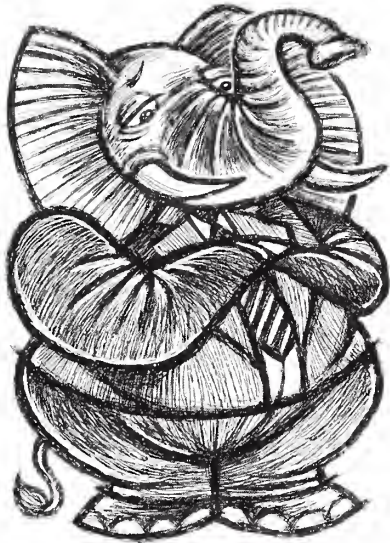
But as she neared her 88th birthday last year, GOP leaders feared she would



Photograph courtesy of Citizens for Bill Brady



Sen. Bill Brady, a Bloomington Republican, meets with Rockford supporters in March 2006.



lose in the general election. Watson's lieutenants successfully backed another Republican, Suzanne Simpson, against Geo-Karis in the primary election. Geo-Karis then threw her support behind the Democrat in the race, and that Democrat, Bond, beat Simpson in the general election.

"In the Senate Republican debate, where we lost four suburban Senate seats, I think my leadership had no handle on what it was like to live or run suburban races," says Sen. Kirk Dillard, a Hinsdale Republican.

Dillard is GOP chairman in DuPage County, long the party's stronghold in Illinois. Sen. James "Pate" Philip, who spent 12 years as the chamber's minority leader and 10 as its president, hailed from DuPage. Philip retired in 2003 after the Democrats won control of the Senate, thanks in part to a new legislative district map favoring Democrats.

Rep. Lee Daniels also was from DuPage. He was House Republican leader for nearly 20 years, serving two years as speaker. Daniels stepped down as GOP leader in 2002 amid a federal investigation into whether he improperly used his state staff to work on political campaigns. Daniels' former chief of staff, Michael Tristano, pleaded guilty to corruption charges and is cooperating with federal prosecutors. Daniels has not been charged with wrongdoing, but he resigned from the House last year.

Republican rank-and-file support may be scattered throughout the state, but

Dillard argues the GOP's leaders must come from the suburbs in Cook County and the counties surrounding Cook, where the population is concentrated. "The suburbs are the battleground and should be the GOP base. One suburban township is equivalent to eight or 10 downstate counties in population."

He says the Republican Party is successful in DuPage because it runs an efficient government, operates a professional campaign apparatus, has diversified its base among minorities and has successfully articulated its good-government message.

"My county operation has a message," he says. "And the state party has no message. That's the big difference."

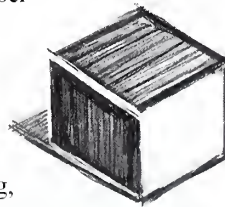
Dillard ran for Senate GOP leader four years ago after Philip retired, but he lost that bid to Watson. Dillard said at the time that the closed-door vote represented something of a backlash against DuPage, but Watson said that wasn't the case. He said he enjoyed support from colleagues around Illinois.

Still, it was clear that the vote for Watson, following decades of suburban leadership, was a coup for downstate Republicans.

"You cannot discount the significance of what was happening nationally in Illinois. I think there is a strong connection," Cross says of GOP losses in the suburbs last year. "But I also think that the days of counting on Republican votes automatically coming out of the suburbs are over. I don't think you can take anything for granted."

Beyond the debate over the locus of the party's geographic base, there are opposing views on how best to reshape the party statewide. Establishment Republicans favor candidates with broad appeal, but party conservatives favor something closer to ideological — or at least partisan — purity.

"You're going to hear a lot of people from the right saying, 'We've got to show voters there's a difference,'" Edgar says. "Well, you can show voters there's a difference. But if our difference is something they don't want, that isn't going to do us any good."



Edgar says the GOP must stay focused on reclaiming its image as the party of integrity and fiscal responsibility. "At the state level and the local level, you don't want to get too hung up on the national ideology issues because they don't pertain, really, that much to state government," he says. "Whether you're an effective governor or not I don't think matters if you're to the right or left of center. It has a lot to do with other issues — your managerial style, your integrity, your ability to pick good people."

Thompson says successful Republican candidates must be attractive to Democratic and independent voters as well as to Republicans. "The question is how do we find candidates who appeal broadly across the state," Thompson says. "You can't win in Illinois just by getting Republicans to vote for you."

Thompson takes a particularly pragmatic view toward party principles. As governor, he managed to win re-election — and continued to be popular — after raising taxes, something that is traditionally anathema to Republicans.

"I think voters want economic security; safety in the streets, homes and schools; a common-sense approach to economic development to lift the capacity of the state; and a decent transportation system, whether it's roads, mass transit, railroads or airplanes," Thompson says.

"After that, it starts to spin off to regional concerns because we're a state of regions, not a unified state. All you've got to do is go through the state and see there are regional concerns in southern Illinois that people in Chicago wouldn't understand and vice versa. A party and the candidates of a party who respond to those imperatives, I think, will do well."

Lawrence, who worked as press secretary for Edgar, argues the GOP must broaden its base to include blacks and Latinos. He says the Republicans must do "sincere outreach."

"It was the height of cynicism to choose Alan Keyes to run for the U.S. Senate from Illinois," he says. "That wasn't extending a hand. It was extending the back of the hand to African Americans."

Conservatives in the party recruited Keyes, an ultraconservative African-American pundit from Maryland, to run

against Democrat Barack Obama in 2004 after party nominee Jack Ryan dropped out of the race. Ryan abandoned his bid after his divorce file was unsealed in the midst of his campaign, showing his ex-wife alleged during their divorce that he had dragged her to sex clubs around the world.

Keyes blazed a scorched-earth crusade against what he views as the nation's moral breakdown. He disparaged as morally compromised everybody from fellow Republicans who refused to rally behind him to voters who rejected him at the ballot box.

Sen. Dave Syverson, a Rockford Republican who engineered the Keyes race as a member of the GOP State Central Committee, was elected to the Senate in 1992 together with four other conservative Republicans. The group, known as the "Fab Five," also included Rauschenberger, Chris Lauzen of Aurora, Pat O'Malley of Palos Park and Peter Fitzgerald of Inverness. Fitzgerald, the most successful member of the group, went on to win a U.S. Senate seat in 1998, ousting Democrat Carol Moseley Braun. Lauzen, like Syverson, remains in the Senate. O'Malley ran for governor in 2002, losing the nomination to then-Attorney General Jim Ryan.

Syverson said at the time that he supported Keyes because Illinois Republicans needed somebody who could quickly command the attention necessary to match Obama. Now he says that recruiting Keyes was a mistake and that it did not help advance the interests of social conservatives. "I was pushing Keyes because he was the stronger of two candidates that we were looking at, and he, at the time, was really pushing the economic issues that I thought needed to be pushed by Republicans," he says.

"We have not done a good job of sending that economic message. And once we get people who will unite both sides of the Republican Party with an understanding that our focus ought to be electing fiscal conservatives and people who believe in smaller government and personal responsibility, then the Republicans can talk about pushing their issues whether on the conservative side or the social side."

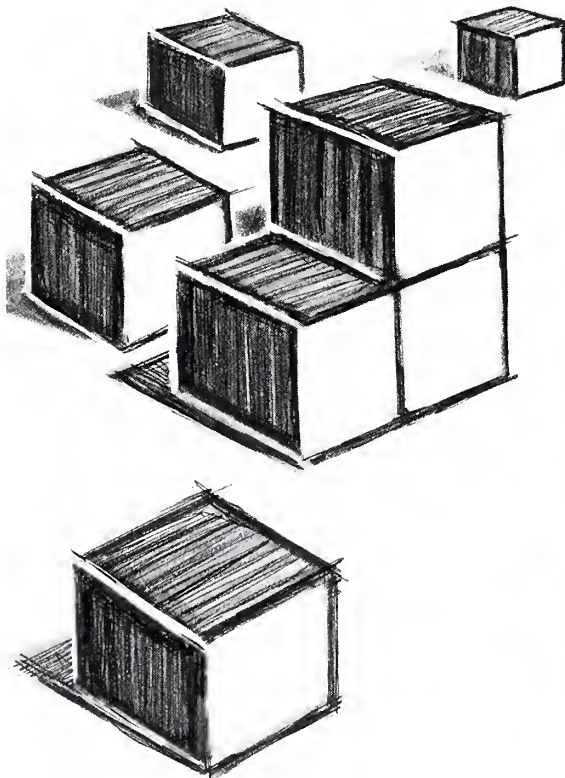
Obama won 70 percent of the vote, and Keyes won just 27 percent. Keyes won 10 counties — Clark, Clay, Edwards, Effingham, Iroquois, Jasper, Massac, Richland, Wabash and Wayne — mostly in southeastern Illinois.

The GOP has long been split between

the social conservatives and members who take a more liberal approach to matters such as abortion and gay rights. Establishment Republicans tend to be more liberal on social issues, or they believe that such issues should not dominate a platform. They also tend to win statewide elections, and they control the party's statewide infrastructure.

Conservative activists argue that establishment leaders overemphasize their push for a conservative social agenda in order to distract from their own shortcomings. "These people are characterless on any issue, and they're trying to run this right-to-life issue as being the only issue," says Jack Roeser, head of the Carpentersville-based Family Taxpayers Network. "They're nuts. It's only because they are totally broken on any kind of a value issue."

The next great test for the Illinois GOP is right around the corner. Next year, U.S. Sen. Richard Durbin will face re-election, and the Republicans will face an opportunity to capture a statewide seat. Ousting the Springfield Democrat, assuming he runs for re-election, won't be easy. Durbin is now the No. 2 ranking member in the Senate and wields considerable influence in Illinois and in Washington, D.C.



Photograph by Russ Kimmons, courtesy of Rep. Chapin Rose's office



Rep. Chapin Rose, a Mahomet Republican, is considered to be a member of the GOP farm team.



Moreover, the presidential election also is next year, and dollars for federal campaigns may be scarce.

As of mid-February, a year and a month from the primary election, Republicans had not identified a formidable member of their ranks to challenge Durbin.

Up-and-comers in the GOP establishment range across the party's ideological spectrum from U.S. Rep. Mark Kirk of Highland Park and Sen. Dan Rutherford of Pontiac on the left end to Sen. Bill Brady of Bloomington and U.S. Rep. Peter Roskam of Wheaton on the right end. About a dozen other folks, including Sen. Christine Radogno of Lemont, fall somewhere in between.

Last year, Rutherford ran for secretary of state, Brady ran for governor and Radogno ran for treasurer — all unsuccessfully.

Rutherford says there is hope for the future. In his own race last year, he says he cut into incumbent Democrat Jesse White's support by running an aggressive yet positive campaign. White's Republican challenger in 2002, former Winnebago County Board Chairwoman Kris Cohn, did not win a single county.

"Four years ago, Jesse White won every single county in the state of Illinois," Rutherford says. "Four years later, he did not. I carried 22 counties. And we carried certain counties by 60 percent of the vote."

The GOP farm team also includes Cross, Rep. Aaron Schoek of Peoria,

Rep. Dan Brady of Bloomington, Rep. Chapin Rose of Mahomet, Rep. Timothy Sehmitz of Batavia, Sen. Randall Hultgren of Wheaton, Dillard and Andy McKenna, the state party chairman.

Rutherford says the GOP must push harder — and deeper — to build its farm team. "We have not been as good at nurturing new people in getting into the base operation of public service," he says. "What I'm talking about is folks in forest preserve districts, aldermen, township officials. We need to be working to get these people on the stage so they can be seen and build their presence."

Establishment Republicans tend to favor candidates who do not champion a conservative social agenda, even though they may believe in the cause. Sen. Brady, for instance, hinted of his conservative views while campaigning for governor last year, but he promoted himself more often as a great advocate for business.

"When I talk with my conservative friends, and I do have many of them," Radogno says, "the thing I raise with them is, 'How are you going to be better off in furthering or advancing or maintaining your position? By having Republicans in office or by having Democrats in office who probably would advance the agenda in exactly the opposite direction?'"

Roeser, on the other hand, would prefer to see a conservative's conservative like Lauzen advance in the Republican ranks. Opposition to abortion is, after all, a plank in the party's platform.

GOP consultant Dave Diersen, who publishes a daily roundup of news stories pertaining to conservative interests, argues that discouraging abortion is one of the party's most important planks. "If a candidate for a government office or political party position believes that government should facilitate abortion, that candidate should run as a Democrat," Diersen says. "If a candidate for a government office or political party position believes that government should discourage abortion, that candidate should run as a Republican."

But it's not simply a conservative

social agenda that the right wing of the party is trying to advance. These activists also are working to purge from the GOP leaders they see as sellouts. Dan Proft, a GOP consultant who used to publish a conservative newsletter called *IllinoisLeader.com*, says the fall of the party revealed that it was "little more than a top-heavy, out-of-touch, visionless ruling council whose legitimacy solely derived from holding the governor's mansion" and other constitutional offices.

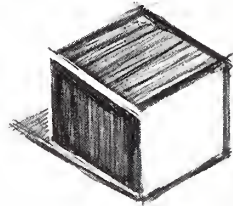
"The Illinois GOP is now beset by a chaotic warlord-ocracy because those in the positions of trust and the leadership within the GOP for the past 30 years — Thompson, Edgar and Ryan and those they installed — sold the party out," Proft says.

"By this I mean those persons gave away the moral high ground on ethical leadership, they blurred the lines on the critical issues of the day and they were exposed as hypocrites for their unwillingness to call out the bad actors in our party."

This tension came to a head during Fitzgerald's tenure in the U.S. Senate when he spearheaded the appointment of Patrick Fitzgerald, who is not related, as U.S. attorney for the Northern District of Illinois. It was 2001, and the senator was the state's senior Republican when he recruited Patrick Fitzgerald, then a New York federal prosecutor. Establishment GOP leaders, including U.S. Rep. Dennis Hastert of Yorkville, who was then speaker of the House, resisted the move, ostensibly because the senator did not consult with them and because Patrick Fitzgerald was not from Illinois.

Sen. Fitzgerald had another view. He believed powerful Illinois Republicans, and Democrats, were cool to Patrick Fitzgerald because they could not influence him. The prosecutor has busted public corruption with particular zeal. He presided over George Ryan's conviction, and he is probing the administrations of Blagojevich and Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, both Democrats.

Peter Fitzgerald served one term in the Senate and declined to seek another term in 2004. Topinka, who was chairwoman of the Illinois Republican Party at the



time, refused to endorse the incumbent Republican for re-election.

More recently, social conservatives have focused their ire on Bob Kjellander, the state's GOP national committeeman. In their eyes, Kjellander embodies a party establishment primarily interested in enriching itself financially. Over the past three years, calling for Kjellander's resignation became something of a litmus test in conservative circles. Even Cross, the House GOP leader, has called on Kjellander to step aside.

Kjellander is a friend of presidential political adviser Karl Rove, former treasurer of the Republican National Committee, and the state party's direct line to the White House. He also is a successful Springfield lobbyist who has earned a fortune lobbying Blagojevich's administration. In one instance, he won an \$809,000 consulting fee from an investment firm that did business with the administration.

In October, Kjellander was identified as "Individual K" in the plea agreement of Stuart Levine, who pleaded guilty to participating in a scheme designed to steer millions of dollars in kickbacks and other payments from companies seeking business with state boards over which Levine had influence. The feds indicted

Antoin "Tony" Rezko, a Blagojevich fundraiser and adviser, as part of the same probe. Rezko is fighting the charges.

Kjellander refuses to step down from the National Republican Committee.

"There's absolutely nothing there," Kjellander says of his surfacing in the Levine plea agreement. "It's two sentences in a 58-page plea agreement. All it says is that I was doing my job as a lobbyist for the Carlyle Group, period. I didn't share any fees with anybody. There is nothing wrong there whatsoever. Because it's me, it's the headline."

Roeser, now 83, has bankrolled candidates willing to take on Kjellander. His pick for governor in the last election, dairy magnate Jim Oberweis, used his time onstage at the Illinois State Fair to call on Kjellander to resign his national party post. It was unity day for Republicans, and Kjellander was seated next to other party leaders on the same stage.

Roeser says the Republicans can't win unless they show a firm conservative vision. He called on Republicans to vote for Blagojevich last year over Topinka. He argued that defeating Topinka, and keeping Blagojevich as governor, was the best way to

force the party to rebuild itself.

Roeser himself ran against an incumbent Republican governor, Edgar, in 1994 because he believed Edgar wasn't sufficiently conservative.

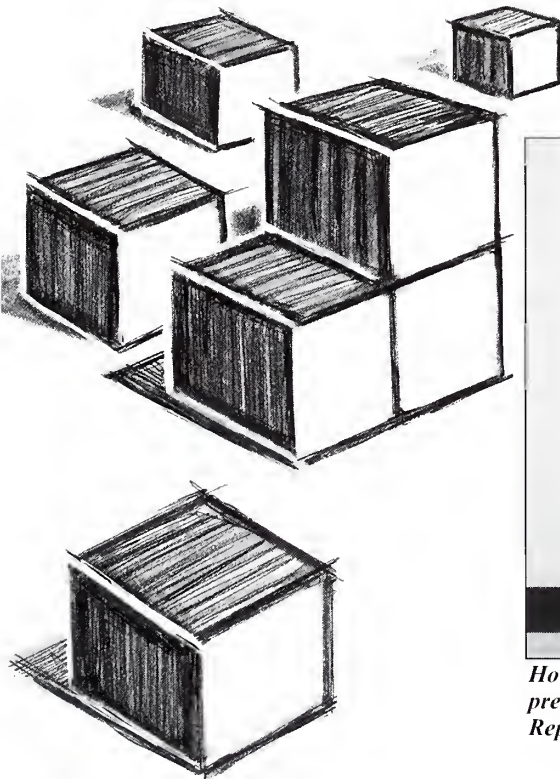
"The Republicans had better have a platform with some decent values in it," he says. "They better find parts of it that are relevant to what's going on in this state right now. And they better present a vision, or Republican voters are not going to come out."

Kjellander calls Roeser a "rule-or-ruin Republican." Other establishment elders say the party's right wing is packed with gadflies like Roeser who ought not to be taken seriously.

"My favorite conversation with Jack Roeser was about the second year I was governor when he came in and said, 'We should be more like George Ryan,'" Edgar says. "Of course he turned on George Ryan — not because of the ethics issue but because George turned out to be more liberal than he thought he was going to be."

The Illinois GOP's problems, it turned out, ran much deeper than party leaders grasped. □

Aaron Chambers is Statehouse reporter for the Rockford Register Star.



House Minority Leader Tom Cross of Oswego introduces legislation aimed at Internet predators during a Statehouse press conference January 31. Joining him are fellow Republican Reps. Sandra Pilos of Glen Ellyn and Bob Biggins of Elmhurst.

Holding pattern

Illinois must comply with the national identification law in the next year, but the feds have yet to write the rules or promise the cash

by Bethany Carson

Citizens and immigrants should start gathering documents to prove their identities. A year from May, a 2005 federal law will require everyone to use standard, tamper-proof ID cards to board airplanes, to enter federal buildings and to conduct other activities that could affect homeland security.

The law, called the Real ID Act, requires states to satisfy minimum requirements for the security of driver's licenses and ID cards, raising opposition about the privacy risks of a national system for identification.

For now, the bare bones Real ID Act simply requires each person in the United States to prove his or her identification with a birth certificate, Social Security number and address in order to get a federally approved ID card. Residents who can't get a Social Security number will have to use a passport, the only non-U.S. document accepted for verification.

Illinois consumers might not notice much difference in the look of their driver's licenses or ID cards, but they could be annoyed by long lines at driver's license facilities if, as estimated, about 12.8 million Illinoisans need to renew information and pictures in person starting in spring 2008. In addition, immigrants, documented and undocumented, will have to prove their right to be in the country or continue to live in the shadows.



Photograph courtesy of the Illinois State Police

Illinois residents and law enforcement officials will have to adjust to new national ID requirements in May 2008, when the federal Real ID Act is scheduled to take effect.

The secretary of state's office is in for a jolt, too, because it could have to roll out new systems to confirm each person's information in a national database.

But Illinois officials, as well as officials from other states, don't yet know what those changes — or the associated costs — will be because the U.S. Department of Homeland Security hasn't issued rules for confirming documents and identities. Further, any regulations the agency proposes will be subject to public comment before they can be implemented, leaving state lawmakers little time this session to approve necessary changes to state law.

The delay led eight states to propose legislation opposing Real ID unless the program receives full funding and assures that it won't violate privacy rights. Maine

voted to flat out ignore the law. New Mexico is considering a measure to prevent implementation of the act and to restrict funding for study of the potential rules and effects of Real ID.

Congress also is expected to consider legislation that would repeal Real ID. Sponsored by U.S. Sen. John Sununu, a New Hampshire Republican, the measure aims to give states flexibility in producing tamper-resistant licenses and protect civil liberties. "The federal government should not be in charge of defining and issuing driver's licenses," he said in a statement. "I agree that we need

clear standards and anti-fraud measures for driver's licenses, but states need to be part of the solution."

He expects to revive the measure that stalled in the previous Congress.

Immigrant advocates, meanwhile, warn that federal ID requirements will prevent some legal immigrants from getting driver's licenses. Further, they caution that the requirements could distract attention from the need for national immigration reform.

Other opponents, including Jim Harper of the libertarian Cato Institute, argue that enforcing a federal ID card could be a costly and ineffective way of dealing with the underlying issue of terrorism.

One estimated cost tops \$11 billion over five years, according to a report by the

National Conference of State Legislatures, the National Governors Association and the American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators. So far, Congress has only earmarked \$40 million to help states implement the law.

The logistical challenges and the threat of an unfunded mandate have put the Real ID Act into the top tier of issues facing states this spring, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures. The nonpartisan group of lawmakers ranks immigration No. 1.

Illinois is among the states considering ways to deal with both issues and to prepare for the financial consequences of each. But without much federal help, state-level programs for immigration and Real ID would have to compete with other major budget items: Medicaid, public employee pensions, debt and new spending.

So far, Illinois Secretary of State Jesse White says this state is ahead of the game in implementing Real ID. Illinois, for instance, was one of the first states to use the Department of Homeland Security's electronic system to confirm information on driver's licenses. Still, Illinois and every other state is in a holding pattern waiting for federal rules — and funding.

As Gov. Rod Blagojevich prepares his state budget proposal for the fiscal year that starts July 1, the secretary of state's office estimates it would need roughly \$25 million in the first year and \$150 million over five years.

"I think it's fair to say we're anticipating that there will be a need for hiring," says James Burns, inspector general for the secretary of state. He has overseen Illinois' preparation for Real ID, which he says started off in a cloud of controversy in the previous Congress.

Originally, the 9/11 Commission recommended developing minimum federal standards that would be agreed to by the states and the feds and allow individual states the flexibility to meet their specific needs. However, that proposal was changed by Congress. As written, the law enforces federally determined minimum security requirements, which some see as an encroachment by the feds on what has historically been state jurisdiction, Burns says. Congress also folded the law into an emergency measure that earmarked more federal dollars to

national defense, the fight against terrorism and tsunami relief.

"Now, if you're sitting in the Congress, would you vote against that one?" Burns says. "The bottom line is there was little or no debate on this bill, which caused quite a furor with some of the governors around the country, and some of the legislators, because they viewed it as one of those federal mandates that is going to probably not be fully funded, maybe only piddly funded."

Yet supporters, particularly law enforcement, saw a legitimate need for a national policy.

When the Real ID Act was signed in May 2005, U.S. Rep. Don Manzullo, an Illinois Republican, issued a statement championing the law. "The 19 terrorists of September 11 were holding 63 state driver's licenses for identification, which they used to board our airplanes and murder nearly 3,000 of our citizens," he wrote. "Lax standards and loopholes in the current issuance processes allowed the terrorists to abuse those licenses for their destructive agenda."

He added that the new national standards would help prevent terrorists from getting those legal state driver's licenses.

Illinois already meets most of the federal law's provisions, including requiring digital photos, verifying Social Security numbers in an online database and establishing proof of residency with utility bills.

But the additional cost to Illinois will depend on the pending federal rules. For example, Burns says, each staff member might need a background check and training to identify fake documents. Computer systems could need a major revamp to satisfy rules for authenticating documents. And if the feds require all states to issue driver's licenses from a central location, Illinois would have to change its system of issuing licenses over the counter on the day of renewal.

"If you look at the act itself, a lot of it seems straightforward," Burns says. "Illinois is in good shape with the big-picture stuff. But then you start getting into the details, and you start getting the anecdotal stuff."

If someone lost his or her ID card, if a person doesn't want a photo taken for religious reasons or if an immigrant who is a college student has to renew a license on

States consider ways to cope with Real ID

As of late January, eight states were considering or had approved legislation opposing the federal Real ID Act unless it's fully funded, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures. Two states approved measures to ignore the law.

Georgia A measure was introduced in January requiring the state to wait to comply with certain provisions of the federal law until the U.S. Department of Homeland Security spells out ways the Real ID Act won't violate "economic safety or biological sanctity."

Kansas A resolution was filed, then withdrawn, last May that would have urged Congress to repeal the Real ID Act.

Massachusetts A measure that was filed in January would resolve not to comply with the Real ID Act until the feds fully fund the mandate. It also urges Congress to repeal the Real ID Act until it is fully funded.

Maine The House and Senate approved a measure to refuse to comply with Real ID and to urge Congress to repeal the act.

Montana The legislature is considering a measure that would direct the Montana Department of Justice and the motor vehicle administration not to participate in the federal law and to report to the governor if the feds try to require implementation. Another measure is in the works that would nullify Real ID altogether.

New Hampshire The House and Senate failed to agree on changes to a measure that originally was intended to prohibit the state from participating in a national ID card system and to analyze the act.

New Mexico A measure introduced in January would resolve that the state not implement any Real ID Act rules that violate constitutional rights. It also would only allow the state to earmark funds to study the effects of Real ID and would urge Congress to repeal the act.

Washington The legislature is considering a measure prohibiting state agencies from complying with the federal law unless money comes from the feds. It also would authorize the state attorney general to challenge the Real ID Act.

an annual basis, the process gets more complicated.

"When you multiply those in a state of 13 million residents, and then you add the number of people that are coming in and you start getting into the problems with immigrants, it becomes more complex," he says.

The Real ID Act brings more attention to immigration, too. State lawmakers already are considering ways to act while Congress remains gridlocked.

Illinois' immigrant population ranks in the top five nationwide. In January 2005, Illinois was home to about 500,000 unauthorized immigrants, according to the U.S. Department of Homeland Security's Office of Immigration Statistics. There also were nearly 750,000 immigrants who had permission to be in Illinois for a specified time. They include students, tourists and temporary workers.

Last year, Illinois legislators tried to form a False Identification Task Force to study ways to crack down on illegal driver's licenses. State Rep. Paul Froehlich, a Schaumburg Republican, was one lawmaker supporting the study because he used to deal with fake ID cards when he managed special projects for the Illinois Secretary of State Police.

"Identity theft is a rapidly growing crime in Illinois and nationally, and that has to do often with bogus documents," Froehlich says. "Until we deal with the half a million illegal immigrants, we will continue to have a problem there, people needing documents to work and to drive."

If immigrants could legally obtain the right to drive, then they wouldn't have the incentive to drive without a license or car insurance, he says. He supports a measure allowing immigrants to get a driver's certificate rather than a federal license that would need to comply with Real ID. Rep. Edward Acevedo, a Chicago Democrat, introduced the measure last January, but it stalled in the House. It's expected to be revived this session.

Rep. Susana Mendoza, a Chicago Democrat and a member of the Latino Caucus who supports the measure, says opponents of the driver's certificate



Under the Student and Exchange Visitor Information System, foreign students enter the United States on a Student Visa.

proposal think in terms of punishment. "They think, 'Well, they're here illegally, so they shouldn't have any rights. They shouldn't have any privileges.'"

She says she believes the contrary, that if undocumented immigrants gained permission to be on the roadways, then they would have to abide by other rules of getting car insurance and making sure their cars are in safe operating condition.

A driver's certificate wouldn't satisfy federal ID requirements or allow undocumented immigrants to get on airplanes starting next spring, but Mendoza says she believes Real ID could be a good thing if it helps immigrants get the documentation they need so they no longer have to hide.

"I think any time we can bring people out of those shadows and try to incorporate them into society is a better thing," she says. "When we talk about homeland security, the way we can be safe is by knowing who everybody is and where everyone lives. And if you're constantly having to move around because you're afraid of being found out, then we're never going to have a good pulse as to who's living in our communities and what people are up to."

Knowing someone's identity doesn't necessarily reveal his or her intentions, says Harper, director of information policy studies at the Cato Institute. He opposes the Real ID Act because he says a national ID card provides a false sense of security, repeats history — "Your papers, please" — and risks putting technology to use against society.

"When the ID that they issue is so central to our access to goods, services and

infrastructure, that means the government has a great deal of control over our lives," he says.

He also foresees problems with individual security. Comparing an ID card to a ring of keys, Harper says each key protects a different physical asset. A standardized, national ID card, on the other hand, could risk functioning as a single key to someone's complete information, including financial, communication and health records.

"It's convenient for governments. It's efficient

for law enforcement. It's just insecure for individuals," he says.

"It's true that a national ID would make it more difficult to access the country," he adds. "It wouldn't be so difficult, though, to get fake documents."

Harper says a more effective method for dealing with immigrants is to focus on creating legal channels for people to enter and leave the country. The policy debate of national security, he says, should focus on preventing someone — citizen or not — from having the tools and the methods to carry out an attack.

In the meantime, states will try to prepare for the logistical and financial hit of the Real ID Act based on a series of "ifs." Burns of the Illinois secretary of state's office says there's been a lot of hand-wringing, some valid, some unnecessary, in anticipation of dealing with the sheer numbers of people needing new ID cards and with the possibility of revamping computer systems.

Future "what ifs" could continue to spark concern over logistics and costs. What if the national ID card is needed for more and more actions and stretches into the private sector? What if a Real ID card is needed to get a loan or an insurance policy? What if the feds eventually require retina scans, computerized chips in the ID cards and other technologically advanced methods of proving identification?

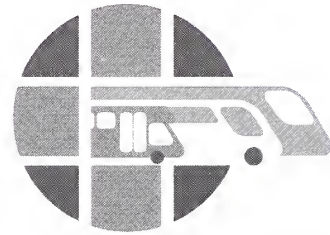
While Congress continues to debate how far the feds can go in the name of national security without creating a Big Brother society, states and their citizens still need to prepare documents to prove who's legally allowed to be part of the current society. □

Slow zone

Transportation advocates push Springfield to hike taxes for highway and transit budgets, but no top pol has climbed aboard

by Joseph Ryan

MOVING BEYOND CONGESTION



Weeks before then-Gov. George Ryan introduced Illinois First, his hallmark road and transit package, the manager of a major transportation advocacy group penned a piece in Chicago newspapers asking for readers' support. "Our message is simple," wrote Steve Schlickman of the Business Leaders for Transportation coalition in early 1999. "Congestion and a crumbling transportation system in the Chicago region will only become worse and more costly if we do not act now."

These days, as executive director of the Regional Transportation Authority, Schlickman oversees the Chicago Transit Authority, Metra and Pace, which haul nearly a million people in northeastern Illinois daily.

His message hasn't changed. "The cities that stand out have a world class transit system, and Chicago's system is challenged to be world class," Schlickman said late last year as the RTA released bleak forecasts for an underfunded rail and bus system. Eight years after Illinois First was enacted, Schlickman and other transportation advocates are waging the same battle: trying to convince legislators to take a political risk by raising taxes to better

fund strapped highway and transit budgets.

Yet much has changed. Instead of coming from a top politician, pressure is coming from the ground level. The RTA is spending more than \$2 million on a media and lobbying campaign to make its case that more capital and operational funding is desperately needed. Road builders also are joining the fray to muster the needed political clout and push more highway expansion and repair work.

But the lack of an early top-level champion, such as the governor, is threatening to undermine the effort. At the same time, the forecasts of dire ramifications for inaction are significantly darker this time around: The RTA predicts mass shutdowns if transit taxes aren't raised, which hasn't been done since the RTA was created a quarter century ago.

In the eyes of the transportation industry, Illinois First was a \$7 billion boon. Metra extended lines north, south and west. Pace refurbished its fleet and the CTA rebuilt several aging legs of its expansive rail system. On the highway front, the so-called "hillside strangler" on the Eisenhower Expressway was untied and thousands of miles of

backlogged road repairs were finally completed. The aging Dan Ryan is still being rebuilt.

But that money is gone as the need grows. And the size and scope of this year's request dwarfs Ryan's formidable 1999 package. In all, the "ask" for expansion and maintenance funds from transit and road builders is shaping up to be about \$20 billion over five years, while the RTA also wants Chicago-area tax hikes to bring in about \$400 million yearly in operating funds.

Moreover, some lawmakers are considering changing the RTA's structure to give it more control. Road builders also are hoping to win a provision that would allow the state to consider hiring private companies to build, manage and set tolls on new highways, such as the O'Hare bypass or the south suburban Illiana Expressway.

On the capital side, the \$20 billion request would be split almost evenly between highway and transit maintenance and expansions.

Those requests include \$2.8 billion in required state matches to rope in \$7 billion in federal funding under a spending plan President George W. Bush signed in 2005. If those matches don't materialize

by next year, the state could be in danger of losing the federal dollars.

As with all big spending plans, this request could be severely cut or restructured as it confronts political and funding realities in the state legislature. Rep. Julie Hamos, an Evanston Democrat who champions transportation funding in the Illinois House, says the big dollars already are scaring away support. "I don't know [that] we really have the ability or the stomach to do a \$20 billion program this time," she says. "It is a very big challenge in the midst of a lot of other very big financial needs."

A spokesman for Gov. Rod Blagojevich's office will only say that it's too early to know what kind of state support might be available.

The weight and scope of the proposal is great, proponents say, because the need is great.

Illinois Department of Transportation funding, which covers road expansion and repairs throughout the state, has been dropping fast since Illinois First expired. In 2003, the state spent \$613 million on repairs and upkeep, a figure that dropped to \$579 million last year. Construction funds fell from a high of \$1 billion in 2003 to just \$581 million last year, according to the Illinois comptroller's office.

In turn, the backlog of road repairs has grown to its pre-Illinois First high of 2,051 miles. The miles repaired by the state have plummeted from a high of 1,900 in 2001 to 820 in 2006.

"There is a real dearth in ongoing projects," says Doug Whitley, president of the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce and co-chair of the Transportation for Illinois Coalition with former AFL-CIO President Margaret Blackshere.

Whitley adds: "Transportation is the cornerstone of this state's economy and we must constantly reinvest in our infrastructure. Every five years you need a revenue increase just to keep your system level."

As highway funding tanks, the state isn't seriously considering grand projects in the next few years, such as the O'Hare bypass, the Route 53 extension into Lake County, the west suburban Prairie Parkway or the Illiana Expressway.

On the transit side, the RTA's main funding source — Chicago-area sales



Jim Reilly, RTA chairman, addresses the October City Club luncheon in Chicago.

taxes — has not kept pace with needs. The take from sales taxes has risen from about \$500 million in 1985 to just under \$800 million in 2006. Those figures are not adjusted for inflation.

At the same time, prices for fuel and paratransit — vans and minibuses used for the elderly and the disabled — have doubled since 2000 and costs for commercial insurance have climbed 58 percent since 2003. Security costs also have more than doubled since Sept. 11, 2001.

To cover the growing gap, the three transit agencies have dipped into expansion and maintenance cash. Last year, they ate up more than \$100 million in capital funds just to keep the system running.

For this year's budget, agency heads decided to leave it up to lawmakers to find a better solution. They approved budgets with a combined \$226 million shortfall, and said if the funding isn't forthcoming they will have to start raising fares and significantly cutting service in July.

"We either expand our system, or we start shrinking it," says RTA Chairman Jim Reilly, a former lawmaker himself and chief of staff to Govs. Jim Thompson and Jim Edgar.

Transit maintenance and expansion funds, meanwhile, were sufficient under Illinois First, but expiration of the program has blown a \$600 million annual hole in that budget. Capital funding was at a high of more than \$1 billion at the

beginning of the decade. It is now under \$500 million.

Transit leaders say \$600 million is needed each year just to maintain the system. They want at least another \$400 million annually for expansion projects.

Linking operating funds for the transit agencies to the major capital package is politically and practically important, Reilly says. It will make it easier to rope in downstate votes and sway Chicago-area lawmakers who are on the fence.

Also, Reilly argues the operational funding shortfall is too dire to ignore. "If you don't have funds to keep services at an adequate level, it becomes pointless to talk about expansion projects," he says.

Yet, while most politicians agree more transit and road expansion is needed, many recoil from raising taxes to fund such projects and operations. Covering the transit operation funding gap, for instance, likely would mean some type of sales or gas tax increase in the counties that ring Cook County.

Raising the collar counties' quarter percent rate for transit to Cook County's 1 percent rate would bring in about \$345 million yearly. A five-cent gas tax hike would raise \$175 million.

The transit agencies also are eyeing toll hikes on the 274-mile suburban system, a state first. For every penny increase, the agencies could get \$13 million.

Raising transit funds in the collar counties, whether through a gas tax, sales tax or tolls, has long been opposed by suburban leaders, but many are saying this year it may get their vote because of the great need.

"We are in dire circumstances," Hamos says. "The [RTA] funding formula is broken and shame on us for not paying attention to it for 23 years."

Funding options for a capital program are far more broad, ranging from "more of the same" proposals like raising vehicle registration fees, gas taxes and license plate fees to the unusual, such as a big gambling expansion. Lawmakers also will be asked to consider radical new funding measures, such as installing variable tolls on express lanes on the Kennedy, Eisenhower and Dan Ryan expressways.

Tolling previously free highways may



RTA Chairman Jim Reilly announced the launch of Moving Beyond Congestion in July at Union Station in Chicago.

seem absurd to many Chicago residents, but Metropolitan Planning Council Vice President Peter Skosey says it may be the lesser of two evils. "What takes more political courage, talking about tolling where the person using the product pays or talking about general taxes that everybody pays?" he asks. "There is always a political challenge when you think about raising revenue."

A dark horse in the money search is the \$24 billion the state could net from leasing the tollway system to a private company that would raise tolls for a profit over 50 to 75 years. Gov. Rod Blagojevich has ruled it out, but many lawmakers think it's a good idea.

"I think you have to start by keeping all options on the table," says Skosey.

While the argument can be convincing and the threats dire, that won't ensure anyone in Springfield will listen or act.

Perhaps the most significant and damaging difference between this year's push and Ryan's 1999 proposal is the lack of a key political backer. "That is the model we are used to," Hamos says. "So we are looking for some leadership."

The big plan transportation advocates say everyone needs and wants is not making any top dog's top agenda. Senate President Emil Jones Jr. says his main mission is to increase education funding.

House Speaker Michael Madigan is more concerned with massive pension debt. And Gov. Rod Blagojevich has preferred to push for additional subsidized health care programs.

"The biggest problem is that politicians in Illinois today are looking at a giant herd of elephants running at them," Whitley says. "And there is a gate they all have to get through, and the question is, 'Are they all going to get through that gate?'"

Still, those hoping for a big capital and transit funding bill aren't giving up. "We will just keep hammering at the gate," Whitley says. "Business and labor groups are committed ... right down to knocking on every door."

Reilly says he has been in touch with the governor's office, which is looking at putting forward a sizable public works program this year. Still, if it turns out to be a re-gifting of last year's failed pitch — just \$2.8 billion to match federal funds — transportation advocates may balk.

"I don't really see that as advancing our cause or moving us forward at all," says Skosey.

If legislators fail to act this session, the message will get considerably louder.

Without additional operating funds, Pace may "implode," having to slash scores of routes by the end of the year,

Reilly says. The CTA's slow zones from disrepair will worsen and threats of massive fare hikes will scare average riders. The CTA and Metra just raised fares last year. And by 2008, Metra will be forced to cut back services, probably pushing thousands of suburbanites onto the crowded tollways. Without the matching federal funds, projects like the CTA's Circle Line and North Suburban extensions or Metra's suburban-treasured STAR Line ringing the collar counties will "become academic," Reilly says.

Those pushing these proposals say they aren't solely fixating on the wins of the past, such as Illinois First, but are trying to learn from the losses. They painfully recall that infighting between Madigan and Edgar kept a major public works program at bay for half a decade.

"This is one of those sessions where it will either be the best in history or one of the great disasters in the state," Reilly says. "There is the potential for the four leaders to come together on this and other things, but there is also the potential for nothing to happen." □

Joseph Ryan is the transportation reporter for the Daily Herald in Arlington Heights.

Parents vs. prevention

Illinois lawmakers weigh whether to require preteens to get vaccinated for sexually transmitted disease

by Deanese Williams-Harris

Photograph by Brandy Rees, Senate staff photographer



Sen. Debbie DeFrancesco Halvorson, at the mike, in a Statehouse news conference during National Cervical Health Awareness Month in 2005. Joining her are Rep. Linda Chapa LaVia, left, and Rep. Patricia Reid Lindner, right. They wore red, which is the symbolic color for cervical cancer.

Lawmakers could face a dilemma this spring: whether the state should play guardian angel to Illinois' preteens.

A proposal is in the works to require vaccinations for 11- and 12-year-old girls that are designed to stop certain types of the human papillomavirus, the most common sexually transmitted disease. The virus, HPV for short, also is linked to cervical cancer.

Sen. Debbie Halvorson, a Democrat from Crete and her chamber's majority leader, has a personal interest in cervical cancer prevention. After her pap smear

came back with abnormal cells in 2002, she was given a high-risk diagnosis for the disease. For Halvorson, the choice is simple.

"When you know there's a vaccine that prevents cervical cancer and you look at your child, it is your responsibility to save their life," she says.

She plans to introduce legislation to add the HPV shot to the state's list of 10 required childhood vaccinations against diseases.

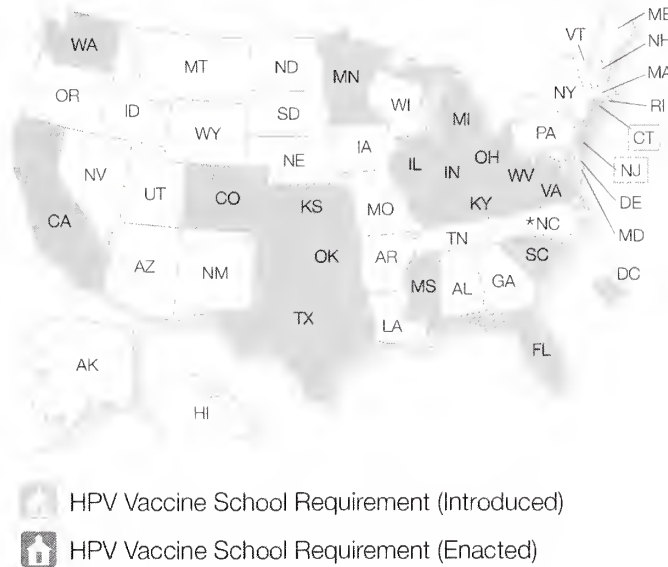
Her proposal likely will generate opposition. Mandatory vaccines for

children have stirred controversy in the past. In 2002, opponents argued that chicken pox isn't a severe enough disease to force parents to have their children inoculated. In 1997, safety concerns about hepatitis B shots mounted as parents feared their children might have adverse reactions to that vaccine.

The push for HPV shots likely will renew the tension between parental rights and the public's interest in prevention.

If Halvorson's proposal reaches the floor, legislators would be asked to decide whether the state should intervene, a move

State initiatives in the HPV campaign as tracked by Women in Government



that could reduce the costs of treating cervical cancer and other HPV-related conditions.

Illinois would join 28 other states that are considering ways to improve access to the HPV vaccine.

In early February, Republican Gov. Rick Perry of Texas issued an executive order for girls 11 and 12 to receive the HPV shots, making Texas the first state to mandate the vaccination. Texas parents can opt out for medical or religious reasons.

Halvorson's proposal also would allow exemptions for medical and religious reasons, and she plans to consider the possibility of pushing fifth-grade physicals up a year so girls could receive the vaccine during their mandatory doctors' visits in sixth grade.

A spokeswoman for the Illinois Department of Public Health says it's too early to tell what financial impact an HPV vaccine policy would have on the state. But Halvorson says a state initiative such as hers could carry a \$4 million price tag, which "is a drop in the bucket when you consider that it will save lives."

Meanwhile, Democratic Rep. Naomi Jakobsson of Urbana is calling on the Illinois Department of Public Health to take the lead in educating physicians and parents about the dangers of HPV. The goal of legislation she has introduced is to incorporate the vaccine into 11- and 12-year-old girls' inoculation schedules.

Unlike Halvorson, Jakobsson would not require the vaccination. However, parents would have to sign a form stating they were educated about HPV and documenting whether they allowed their children to get the shots.

Stopping the disease with preventive care in adolescent years might save the state from spending treatment dollars later. About 80 percent of women will acquire HPV by age 50, according to the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Nationwide, 20 million cases were documented last year, and 6 million more are expected annually.

However, Curtis Allen, spokesman for the Atlanta-based CDC, says that while the HPV vaccine is important for women's health, it is not a cure-all.

"Fifty percent of all women who develop cervical cancer have not received a recent pap smear," he says.

Nationwide, mortality rates for black, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander and Native American women are higher than for white women. These groups also fall behind on access to screening. Although studies show the HPV virus clears itself in 90 percent of women within a two-year period, women who have an untreated infection from a certain type of the virus are at risk of cell changes in the cervix that can cause cancer.

Reaching these women early with such preventive care as an HPV vaccine might have an impact on

future cervical cancer deaths.

Women in Government, a Washington, D.C.-based bipartisan group of women state legislators, issued a report earlier this year that rated states in their fight against cervical cancer. The report, *Partnering for Progress 2007: The State of Cervical Cancer Prevention in America*, looked at data on cervical cancer for each state using the number of deaths, the number of cases and the accessibility of screening.

The report puts Illinois second behind Minnesota in percentages of uninsured women: 9 percent in Minnesota compared to 17 percent in Illinois.

Halvorson says legislation that launched the Illinois Cervical Cancer Elimination Task Force in 2004 is one reason this state has had success in battling the disease. But she says there's more to be done.

"This is our chance to eradicate a certain cancer in our lifetime."

Last year, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration approved Gardasil, a vaccine developed by Merck and Co. Inc. to prevent four types of HPV, including two that are linked to most cases of genital warts. The company has launched two media campaigns, "Tell Someone" and "One Less," warning about HPV and cervical cancer.

The vaccine is thought to be 95 percent to 100 percent effective when used properly, according to the FDA. After

Though there is widespread support of the HPV vaccine, there will be opponents to the idea of requiring inoculation for preteen girls.

women get the first shot, they need a second dose two months later. A third dose is needed within six months after the first.

The CDC's Advisory Committee on Immunization Practices says the vaccine can be given to girls ages 11 and 12. A series of three shots, the immunization can be started in females as young as 9 years old. There also is a "catch-up" series for females ages 13 to 26 who haven't been vaccinated.

The vaccine costs about \$360 for the three-shot series and is covered by the federal Medicaid health insurance for children. Females under the age of 19 whose private health insurance won't cover costs also can get the vaccination under this plan. According to the CDC, most large insurance plans will pay for the HPV shots.

A second vaccine, Cervarix, which was developed by GlaxoSmithKline, is still undergoing testing and is scheduled to be reviewed by the FDA next month.

Jennifer Armstrong, spokeswoman for GlaxoSmithKline, says the company also will work to educate people about the seriousness of the disease. Cervarix is being studied in females ages 10 through 45.

Meanwhile, national groups are recommending the HPV vaccine. The American Cancer Society, the American Academy of Pediatrics and the Women in Government Cervical Cancer and HPV Task Force suggest that girls 11 and 12 receive the shots. However, the groups have not endorsed a state mandate.

According to Halvorson, about 180,000 Illinois girls fall into the 11- and 12-year-old age range, and 10 percent of those girls are uninsured or under-insured. She says most should be eligible to receive the HPV vaccinations under All Kids, the state subsidized health insurance

program that rolled out last year.

Halvorson says she believes it would be irresponsible to require vaccination immediately. Instead, she favors a two-to-four-year phase-in period after legislation wins approval. She says this would give the state a chance to work with drug companies to figure out the availability of the vaccine and to set up an effective plan. Halvorson says her affiliation with the two drug companies is for educational purposes to ensure that this is what's best for Illinois girls.

Last August, the senator held a golf outing fundraiser that Merck couldn't attend. She says instead the company donated \$1,000 to her campaign.

"Campaign contributions don't and never will buy my support for something," she says.

She says she also met with obstetricians, gynecologists and pediatricians and attended educational seminars on cervical cancer and HPV.

"Merck is absolutely not behind my legislation," Halvorson says.

The Associated Press reported that the governor of Texas received \$6,000 from Merck and is connected to Women in Government. His spokeswoman, Krista Moody, says she is unaware of those reports.

"Any assertion that this is a political issue is incorrect. This is a public health issue," Moody says. She adds the only reason Perry issued the order is to ensure girls have access to the vaccine and to expedite the issue in the legislature.

Women in Government has received donations from Merck, as well as from other corporations, the group said in a statement. However, the group says its relationship with the drug company is strictly based on educational purposes and it doesn't lobby for any company or policy.

Though there is widespread support of the HPV vaccine, there will be opponents to the idea of requiring inoculation for preteen girls.

Linda Klepacki, the analyst for sexual behavior for Focus on the Family, a Christian not-for-profit organization, is one of them.

Klepacki says she's concerned about how well parents have been educated about HPV so they can make informed decisions. "We are supportive of a

vaccine, but we also support parent rights," she says.

Because the vaccine is fairly new, Klepacki says she doesn't want parents to be misguided about how long the drug stays effective, which is still under study.

So far, studies show that vaccinated females are protected for about five years. But because the vaccine is new, more research will have to be done to see if girls need another dose as adults, according to the CDC's National Immunization Program. Research also is being conducted to see whether the vaccine will work in males, who don't show symptoms but can spread the virus.

The Family Research Council, a Judeo-Christian-based nonprofit group, supports an opt-in policy that would allow parents to make the final decision. The council also argues abstinence is the only absolute way to prevent such sexually transmitted diseases as HPV. Still, the group supports the vaccine because it recognizes people can contract HPV in other ways, including sexual assault.

While the council doesn't correlate use of the vaccine to sexual promiscuity, it encourages future studies to determine whether the vaccine has any impact on sexual behavior.

Klepacki and Halvorson agree on one point. They believe there is no proof that vaccines designed to prevent sexually transmitted diseases, such as hepatitis B, cause promiscuity.

"HPV is not transmitted through casual contact; therefore, there is no justification to mandate this vaccine as a requirement for school attendance," says Moira Gaul, policy analyst for the Family Research Council in Washington, D.C.

But Halvorson says mandatory HPV vaccinations are simply about the state protecting girls against another potentially deadly disease. "I will continue to work towards girls receiving this vaccination because it's my responsibility."

The arguments against the HPV vaccine have been used before to oppose other mandatory vaccine measures in the General Assembly. Yet chicken pox and hepatitis B shots are now part of the routine vaccination schedules, with medical or religious exemptions. This spring, preventive care and parental rights might come head to head once more. □

Postscript

A daughter of Illinois became a mother of feminism

Essay by James Krohe Jr.

The *Peoria Journal Star* called her a revolutionary, but hometown papers always boast about their famous daughters. And no daughter of Peoria was more famous than Betty Friedan. Bettye Naomi Goldstein (she dropped the “e” later) was born in that west central Illinois city in 1921, a daughter of immigrant parents. Her father made himself a success in business, and she grew up in the swell part of town, on Farmington Road, across the street from Bradley Park.

Friedan graduated in the Peoria High School Class of 1938. She was an above-average kid academically, but school was the only place her mind might have been considered an asset. “It was not very useful to be too intelligent, for a girl, in Peoria when we were growing up,” she would later write in her autobiography *Life So Far*. Her education in the frustrations of femaleness, however, did not come at PHS but at home. Her mother had attended what would become Bradley University for two years, and later became the women’s page editor of the predecessor of today’s *Peoria Journal Star*. She loved the job, but quit when she married to become a stay-at-home mom. Her mother’s fate presaged Betty’s own early life.

Friedan was a victim of overt prejudice in Peoria, but it was because of her religion rather than her sex. As Jews, the Goldsteins were barred from membership in the Peoria Country Club, and some prominent Christians wouldn’t talk to Friedan’s father after business hours. “Entering high school, the other girls and boys who lived on the West Bluff, which was the nice part of town then, were



Photograph by Beth Corbin,
courtesy of National Organization for Women

Betty Friedan, the Peoria native who wrote The Feminine Mystique and co-founded the National Organization for Women, died February 4, 2006, at the age of 85

rushed for sororities and fraternities,” she recalled in her autobiography. “No Jewish kids were ever invited to join those sororities or fraternities, which ran high school social life in Peoria.”

However, as a female in Peoria, Friedan encountered no serious impediment to more meaningful achievement. The taxpayers provided her an education good enough to get her into elite Smith College. (It was her mother who wanted Betty to go away to Smith because that’s where the cream of the local country club set sent their daughters.) She was

awarded a bachelor’s degree in 1942 and accepted a fellowship to the University of California, Berkeley, to do graduate work in psychology, and there studied with the renowned psychologist Erik Erikson, among others.

She was on her way to a doctorate and a career, but she was dating a young physicist who felt threatened by her success. He pressured her to turn down a further graduate fellowship, and she did. Having given up the career, she lost the physicist, too. Eventually she wed a man in the advertising biz named Friedan and made her life on the East Coast.

When Goldstein married, she encountered the now-familiar dilemmas of the overeducated, understimulated, upper-middle-class housewife of the 1950s. Gradually she came to see that her dilemma was general to women of her class, thanks in part to an article she wrote about her fellow Smithies for the 15th reunion of her class, which made clear to her that she was not alone in feeling bored, empty, wasted.

The article grew into a book, *The Feminine Mystique*. Published in 1963, it quickly became a guidebook to what became known as first-stage feminism. The book resonated with readers because its author talked about things everyone in her situation knew to be true, but did not yet recognize as Truth.

Mystique sold more than three million copies, and, while it didn’t change the world, it changed the way people saw the world. (The three books that shaped today’s movements in feminism, environmentalism, and urbanism were written by women, and published within two years

In a broader sense, Friedan's story was that of hundreds of impatient or disaffected Illinoisans who make a splash and ride the wave right out of the state, seldom to look back.

of each other in the early 1960s, and all were feminist tracts in a way — *The Feminine Mystique*, Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* and Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*.)

Through her book, Friedan helped revive a women's movement that had been moribund since World War I, and the bored housewife became a public figure. Friedan helped found the National Organization for Women, or NOW, in 1966 and served as its president until 1970. She helped coordinate the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971, the International Feminist Congress in 1973 and the First Women's Bank in 1973.

Her book came out the same year as Martin Luther King's March on Washington. Friedan was a '30s-style liberal on race and labor, and *Mystique* was her "I have a dream" speech, her manifesto of liberation for the people she called "the world's only discriminated-against majority." She declared that social justice should apply to gender just as it did to race and religion, and envisioned NOW as an NAACP for women.

By comparison with what African Americans in the South endured, "oppression" as Friedan experienced it was merely metaphorical. No institutional or financial obstacle barred her younger self from success in science — indeed, doors were opened for her at every step. She abandoned a career because a man — not Men — didn't approve of her doing what she wanted to do — a rather different thing from preventing her from doing it. In that moment, we see the first

glimmers of a future that would conflate insensitivity with injustice.

Friedan's relations with her hometown grew increasingly cordial once she ceased to be seen as a Troublemaker and began to be seen as a Celebrity and, toward the end, a Revered Public Figure. Indeed, Friedan turned out to be pretty much a Peoria sort of woman. She was never against marriage, for instance, only against marriages whose terms were dictated by one spouse to the other. (She stayed married for 22 years that are usually described as "tempestuous.") She was never against having and raising kids, only against raising kids being the only choice offered women.

As the years passed, Friedan became unhappy that some feminists had made men the enemy, and disturbed by the young women whose dreamed-of future would be very like the '50s of her youth, only with women enjoying the satisfying careers while their husbands stayed home with the kids. (She articulated her unease in the 1981 book, *The Second Stage*.) To her credit, Friedan saw that for women to resort to the conduct that spurred her to take up the pen 40 years previously was hardly progress. For such retrograde sentiments, she was shunned by much of the feminist movement, and when publication of her autobiography in 2000 gave people a reason to talk about her again, she was described, as Judith Shulevitz wrote in *Slate*, as an "ex-icon" of the movement.

In a broader sense, Friedan's story was that of hundreds of impatient or disaffected Illinoisans who make a splash and ride the wave right out of the state, seldom to look back. Peoria alone has had several such escapees — comedian Richard Pryor, another Peorian who turned his miseries into social insights; radio comedy stars Jim and Marion Jordan (Fibber McGee and Molly) and Charles Correll (Amos and Andy); pioneering religious broadcaster Bishop Fulton J. Sheen; early 20th-century inventors and engineers Octave Chanute (aviation) and Charles Duryea (automobiles); Robert Ingersoll, who in a braver and better age played Billy Graham to the nation's unbelievers; and General John Shalikashvili, late of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The fact of leaving such places does not

necessarily bespeak bad blood between place and person. Even someone such as William Maxwell, who may be said to have never left the Lincoln of his boyhood, did not make a life there as an adult. Lincoln — like so many Illinois towns — had given the future writer plenty of what a boy needs, but not nearly enough of what a man — or a woman — needs.

So it was for Betty Friedan. She was not above using poor old Peoria for a laugh. In a 2000 interview on PBS, Friedan said, "Well, I played in Peoria, but I got out of there." However, that she was specifically a Peorian meant nothing in terms of her experience as a woman. She had revolted less against Peoria than against her marriage, and her acquiescence in it; had she been from Grand Rapids or Scranton or Tallahassee, her story would have been the same.

True, Peoria in the 1950s was settled and complacent and dull, at least to the budding cosmopolite who would graduate from Smith and Berkeley and who ended up not in Chicago or St. Louis but Greenwich Village, New York. Her hometown offered her no local role model of a woman who had a career, and worse, no knowledge of the many such women in other places. However, Peoria in other respects was crucial in the making of a national spokesperson for feminism. Peoria did give her what she called "a sense of a larger reality than the sophistication of New York and Los Angeles."

The fact that she was from the city she herself described as the middle of the middle of America made her message easier for the rest of the country to hear; unlike feminists Gloria Steinem or Bella Abzug, she could not be dismissed as another one of the coastal elites. And her experience as a member of Peoria's ruling local elite left her believing, as she put it in 1999 to the *Peoria Journal Star*, "If there was a problem, you could organize in the community to deal with the problem." Her summary judgment — that Peoria was "a good place to have come from and to have left" — might be engraved on signs on outskirts of most towns in Illinois. □

James Krohe Jr. is a veteran commentator on Illinois public policy issues and a frequent contributor to Illinois Issues. His most recent essay for the magazine, Misguided markers, appeared in the January issue.

Margaret Blackshere

The first female president of the Illinois AFL-CIO retired last month after 14 years with the state's largest union organization. During her tenure, many state and federal lawmakers became familiar with her "full court press" in advocating for labor issues.

The former kindergarten teacher served as president of her local union in downstate Madison before becoming a lobbyist and vice president for the Illinois Federation of Teachers. In 1993, she became the Illinois AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer. She was elected president in 2000.

Blackshere is a member of the Democratic Party's national committee and continues to serve on civic boards, including that of Illinois Issues, and is the recipient of numerous awards for her dedication to organized labor.

Her activism crossed borders as a member of trade union delegations to Central America, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and, most recently, Cambodia, for the national AFL-CIO.

This is an edited version of her conversation with Bethany Carson, the magazine's Statehouse bureau chief.

Q. We interviewed you as secretary-treasurer 13 years ago when there were only three AFL-CIO female officers. Have things changed?

There are more, and they are in the secretary-treasurer's spot. There are not more women presidents. As I expected it to be, no one's going to let you jump to the top because you're a woman and because it's the right thing to do. They just won't.

You've got to work your way up the ladder, and then you have the ability to make the argument, 'I've paid my dues, I've followed the process.' That's what women in the labor movement have done. They now are the No. 2 officers.



Margaret Blackshere

Q. What still needs to change for women workers?

You've got to have a good economy to move ahead. It's difficult to make things happen for women when there aren't jobs, when there aren't opportunities.

We've certainly done it in Illinois, but that's not enough. You can't change a corporate entity unless you have federal changes. The private sector is governed by federal law, not by state law.

Women have to be in the leadership in order to make the changes we need to make to help women workers. There just aren't enough men who think about these things. It's not on their radar.

Q. You were in Indonesia at this time last year. How are women faring in the global economy?

I was meeting with these women, age 18 to 22, in beautiful, clean factories on an island that is totally for manufacturing in Indonesia, in [an] archipelago 30 miles from Singapore, where life is

swell and everybody's clean and nice and lives well.

These women were hired at 18 right out of secondary school from villages all over the archipelago and brought to this factory island, and at 22, they're all fired. They don't know that when they come. And they live in an apartment building owned by the company where they make \$120 a week, and they pay \$80 to [the] company for the housing. Sixteen women in a two-room apartment. The bedroom has eight bunk beds, then they have a living room, kitchen, bathroom. They have no privacy whatsoever. They have a shower with no curtain, a toilet with no door.

They said to me, and this was the epiphany, 'Why are you coming here when we're taking your jobs?' I said, 'Because if we don't make things better for you, then we're all going down.'

They invited us [to see their apartment building], and then we were walking through and armed guards told us to leave. They had shut all the windows in these stucco buildings and all the doors so nobody could see us and know we were there.

I thought it was critically important that we let them know. If we gave up so easily when we were asking so much of them — because we're going to fly back to America and live our good lives — that we had to let them know we were there.

I said to the other two women who were with me — one from Connecticut, the other from Texas — that we have to let them know. They said, 'How can we do that?' I said, 'Well, start singing.' So we sang 'Solidarity,' which we had sung with them the night before. We're singing, and the gun is in my chest. You know when scary things happen to you, you aren't scared at the moment but you're scared when you get back to your room. I was so stupidly bold saying we have to sing, we have to sing.

We're screaming this song, and they're turning us around and making us

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march out. And we're walking as slow as we possibly can. And from inside those hot, brick stucco buildings came their voices singing with us. By the time we left, there came this guy with all kinds of medals on and a big old hat, and he said, 'Go. Go.' I said, 'We're going. We're going.' He said, 'No, this way,' and they let us go see the ladies, and that's how I know what was in their apartment.

Q. *In 2005, you said that human rights means having the right to belong to a union. What did you mean?*

Around the world, Europe has much better labor laws than the United States does. And it has much better thoughtfulness about women workers. I was in Ireland for Christmas, and they have six months [of] paid leave when you have a child. If there is no holiday, they call it a banker's holiday so that they get at least one holiday a month. Then if they have school-aged children, one of the parents is allowed leave during the summer so the children are cared for.

There's so much that happens that is responsible. And it makes so much sense. You have a better worker, you have a better society, you have more educated children. It's just a circle of recognition that all children should be allowed to go to school. What a fundamental right that is. But it certainly doesn't happen in Africa. It doesn't happen in Indonesia. So they can make them into manufacture workers.

Q. *How can women workers keep the momentum?*

Don't pass up opportunities. If someone gives you the opportunity for training, take it. We have this notion as women that our leadership skills aren't as great as men. That's simply not true. What we do better is we bring consensus. And consensus in my opinion is the key to good leadership. Ordering people to do things is not [being] a good leader. Finding a solution by talking to everyone is [being] a good leader. □

GOVERNOR'S TEAM

A woman heads the state budget office

The former deputy director of Gov. Rod Blagojevich's budget office is now the director. A Chicago native, **Ginger Ostro** played a key role in the creation of the Juvenile Justice Department and the governor's first-term program to offer state-subsidized preschool to middle-income families.

Her path to the governor's office encompasses 20 years of public policy with a fiscal focus. While serving as Governors State University's budget director, she says she set out to ensure programs responded to the needs of families in the child welfare system. And as budget director for the nonprofit business group Chicago Metropolis 2020, she concentrated on issues in juvenile justice, youth exposed to violence and sex offender re-entry programs.

"I see this blending throughout of being able to help work on policy issues, design programs that actually serve people in the community and then being able to focus on the fiscal side of it, as well, and how you make all that work in the real world," she says.

Ostro has a bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago and a master's degree in public policy from Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

She replaces **John Filan**, the governor's first-term budget director. Blagojevich named Filan chief operating officer, a new position overseeing the governor's central agency that manages hiring and purchasing. He also will oversee the agencies that deal with economic development, infrastructure, business regulation and the environment.

Filan spearheaded the governor's first-term budget strategies, including borrowing \$10 billion to put more than \$7 billion toward the public employee pension systems and to invest the rest. Lawmakers approved the administration's "pension holiday," giving the state a two-year break from its financial obligation to the five public employee retirement systems.

Filan also oversaw trimming the state payroll by 13,000 employees and consolidating 19 state agencies, moves designed to save state money.



Ginger Ostro

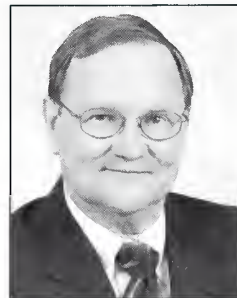
Other shifts at the top

Milt Sees, former director of highways for the Illinois Department of Transportation, is acting secretary of the agency until the governor nominates a permanent secretary, which requires Senate approval. He replaces **Timothy Martin**, who returned to the private sector.

An engineer, Sees previously served as general manager of Crisp Container Co., vice president and general manager of Southern Illinois Concrete Products Co. Inc., president and chief lobbyist for North American Wire Reinforcement Institute Inc., executive director of the Illinois Concrete Pipe Association and deputy director and assistant chief engineer of the Capital City Railroad Relocation Authority.

Catherine Shannon was appointed director of the Illinois Department of Labor. She has served as legislative director of the department. Prior to that, she lobbied for fair wages and worker protection laws for the Illinois AFL-CIO and the Illinois Federation of Teachers. She served on the appropriations staff of House Speaker Michael Madigan. She replaces **Art Ludwig** and needs Senate approval.

DeShana Forney, the governor's director of public safety, was appointed executive director of the Illinois Housing Development Authority. While overseeing the state's corrections and police departments, among other law enforcement agencies, she spearheaded the creation of the state's Juvenile Justice Department. She has served on the speaker's staff, was deputy director of the Illinois Democratic Party and coordinator for the Illinois delegation at the 2000 Democratic National Convention. She replaces **Kelly King Dibble**, who returns to the private sector.



Milt Sees

Charlotte Reid

The former five-term congresswoman from Aurora died January 25. She was 93.

Her husband, Frank Reid Jr., won the Republican primary in 1962 but died shortly before the general election. She was chosen to run in his place and joined 12 other women in the House and Senate at the time.

She made news, by accident, when she became the first woman to wear pants on the U.S. House floor, says her daughter, state Rep. Patricia Reid Lindner, an Aurora Republican like both of her parents.

Reid had tried on a pantsuit given to her by her staff for Christmas, and then she had to go to the House floor for a roll call, Lindner says. Former President Gerald Ford, then House minority leader, saw her. "He said, 'Well, what's this?' He made her turn around and looked at it, and he said, 'Well, I like it.' Forever after that, you could wear pants on the House floor."

Her legislative achievements included serving on the House Appropriations Committee and as one of the first six congressional members on the Board of Governors of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. She left office in the middle of her fifth term because President Richard Nixon appointed her the only woman on the Federal Communications Commission, where she served until 1976. President Ronald Reagan later appointed her to serve on his Presidential Task Force on International Private Enterprise in the mid-1980s.

Her political achievements included being elected to address the Republican National Convention in San Francisco in 1964 and in Miami four years later. "She became a champion for more women running for public office and being in public life," Lindner says.

She also was known as a good listener.

"She had a very warm, caring personality and a beautiful smile that just charmed everybody," Lindner says. "It didn't matter to Mother if you were the president of the United States or if you were the cleaning lady. She acted the same to everybody."

Born in Kankakee and raised in Aurora, she also sang under her professional name, Annette King, on the syndicated radio program Don McNeill's *Breakfast Club*.

UPDATES

- **Kevin Wright** resigned from the Illinois Commerce Commission in mid-February when his five-year term ended (see *Illinois Issues*, February, page 24).
- President **George W. Bush** proposed in his State of the Union address federal grants for states that offer health insurance to their residents (see *Illinois Issues*, June 2006, page 22, and January, page 37).
- **Robert Kjellander** chose not to seek re-election as treasurer of the National Republican Committee because, he says, he wants to back a presidential candidate (see *Illinois Issues*, February, page 34).
- Gov. **Rod Blagojevich** is trolling for potential bidders in his plan to privatize the Illinois Lottery (see *Illinois Issues*, February 2005, page 14, and June 2006, page 28).

Higher education policymaker named

Carrie Hightman, former AT&T Illinois president, has been appointed to replace **James Kaplan** as chairman of the Illinois Board of Higher Education. Kaplan stepped down after 20 years of state policymaking. Former Gov. George Ryan appointed him to the board in 1999. Gov. Rod Blagojevich named him chair in 2003.

Kaplan is a longtime advocate for students with disabilities, and he worked to improve monitoring of opportunities for disabled students. He also played a major role in state legislation that earmarked 10 percent of Health Services Education grants to high-need health professions. He remains a managing partner at the Chicago law firm Kaplan & Sorosky and a judge on the Illinois Court of Claims.

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More needs to be done to help mothers who are in prison

I read your article on women prisoners (see *Illinois Issues*, January, page 16) with special interest because I served on the Adult Advisory Board of the Department of Corrections from 1994 to 2003. During that time, my particular concern was the women prisoners, especially mothers.

There's been some progress in recent years. One was the order allowing women to be unshackled during labor. I am not kidding. Women prisoners were shackled during transportation to the hospital, during labor and even during delivery until the doctors refused to allow shackling during delivery.

We also set up facilities whereby a few women in work-release programs could have their babies live with them. The bond between mother and child was thus strengthened and the state saved money on foster care.

The program at Dwight that allowed women to have their children camp with them on the prison grounds in the summer was also successful. I teared up when I saw the simple toys that the women were making to give their children when the kids visited Mommy. The mothers looked forward to it all year.

Much more needs to be done for incarcerated mothers.

However, before we jump on the bandwagon of having alternative sentencing for "nonviolent crimes," let's consider what such crimes entail. Many incarcerated women were drug couriers. Some may consider that "nonviolent," but I think that people who deliver drugs, especially to children, are involved in one of the greatest tragedies of our society.

*Ann Lousin
Chicago*



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Charles N. Wheeler III



Would an earlier primary give Illinois a greater say in the party nominees?

by Charles N. Wheeler III

The 2008 presidential campaign figures to be the most wide-open contest for the White House in decades. Not since 1928 has neither a sitting president nor a sitting vice president sought his party's nomination for the top spot.

And as usual, Illinois voters will have little to say in who the Democratic and Republican standard bearers will be, despite the meteoric rise of U.S. Sen. Barack Obama to the top tier of potential Democratic nominees.

Old news, right? Everybody knows that holding Illinois' presidential primary in mid-March virtually assures that a front-runner will have all but locked up both major parties' nominations by the time Illinoisans cast ballots.

That's why the Democratic state chair, House Speaker Michael Madigan, wants to move the primary date to the first Tuesday in February, which falls on the 5th in 2008.

The goal, said Madigan in unveiling the proposal, is that "Illinois will be able to participate in the presidential election process, but more importantly, Illinois will be able to mark up for Barack Obama."

Madigan is certainly correct that holding the presidential primary on March 18, as now scheduled, likely will determine little more than which of the local party faithful will win convention credentials.

In fact, a ballpark survey of the dele-

Everybody knows that holding Illinois' presidential primary in mid-March virtually assures that a front-runner will have all but locked up both major parties' nominations by the time Illinoisans cast ballots.

gate selection process suggests that perhaps 90 percent of the Democratic delegates will have been determined by a year from now, while about 85 percent of the GOP delegates will have been chosen.

What's not so clear, however, is whether moving the Illinois primary to February 5 will give the state a major role in choosing party nominees. The uncertainty stems from a similar "rush to the front" mentality at work in other states across the nation, including such mega-prizes as California and Florida.

Legislation to move the California primary to February 5 is moving through that state's Assembly with the support of Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger, while Florida lawmakers from both parties are pushing for a 2008 primary date one week after New Hampshire, probably January 29.

In all, almost 20 states are moving toward the first Tuesday in February or earlier for their presidential primaries, according to a survey by the National Association of Secretaries of State, whose members run elections in about three-quarters of the states.

The rationale is the same in virtually all cases — a desire to play a meaningful role in the nominating process. That traditionally has begun with the Iowa caucuses, set next year for January 14, and the New Hampshire primary, which by state law must occur one week before any "similar election."

"We know for sure that Iowa and New Hampshire do not represent the diversity of the United States," the sponsor of the Florida legislation told a House committee there last month. "We know the state of Florida does. We know that, as Florida goes, so the country goes."

Similar sentiments are being voiced around the country. Indeed, Democratic Party leaders last year approved Nevada caucuses and a South Carolina party primary for January 2008, as a way of bringing more diversity to the early stages of the nominating process.

But national officials of both major parties are not pleased with the nationwide rush to the front. Perhaps foremost among their reasons is the enormous, early fundraising burden placed on candidates hoping to compete in large states with expensive TV markets. The foreshortened political season also gives

voters less time to assess candidates and their ideas before making a choice, increasing the possibility of buyer's remorse by the time the nominating conventions roll around in summer to rubber-stamp the decisions made months earlier.

Neither promising more convention delegates to states willing to hold later primaries, nor threatening to reduce delegate allotments to ones going too early, have cooled the national fever to move to the head of the line.

Given that trend, moving the Illinois primary to February 5 seems a no-brainer, if the state's voters are to have any voice in picking their parties' nominees.

Yet the earlier primary might be at best a wash for Obama. If California, Florida and other populous states all vote on the same day, other Democratic hopefuls can say legitimately that they're conceding the Illinois vote to the state's junior senator while they wage coast-to-coast battles for delegates on more neutral ground. And should Obama fail to win

The uncertainty stems from a similar "rush to the front" mentality at work in other states across the nation, including such mega-prizes as California and Florida.

near unanimous support from Democratic voters here, critics are sure to question his electoral appeal nationally.

Is there a better way?

The nation's secretaries of state believe so, and last month called for adoption of a rotating regional system for presidential primaries. Under the proposal, states would be grouped into four geographic areas — Eastern, Southern, Midwestern and Western — in each of which presidential primaries would be held in the same month, either March, April, May or

June. A different part of the country would kick off the voting every four years, with each region going first once every four presidential cycles. Illinois would be the most populous of the Midwestern states, ensuring that candidates could ignore the Prairie State only at their peril.

Iowa and New Hampshire would keep their early status, which the secretaries' association said would allow underfunded and less well-known candidates to compete through "retail politics," the door-to-door, grass-roots, personal campaigning that typifies the two early states, which together have fewer residents than Cook County.

Until some such reasonable nominating plan is adopted, though, Illinoisans might as well resolve themselves to picking presidential nominees right around Groundhog Day. □

Charles N. Wheeler III is director of the Public Affairs Reporting program at the University of Illinois at Springfield.



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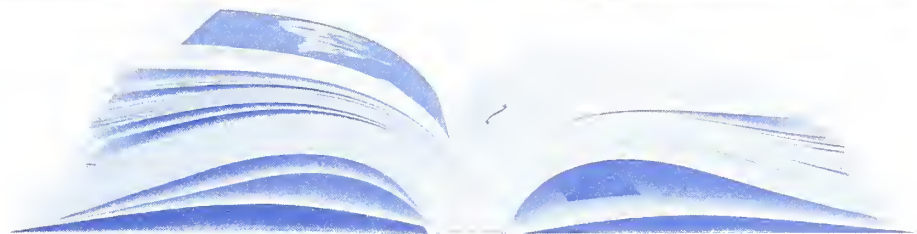
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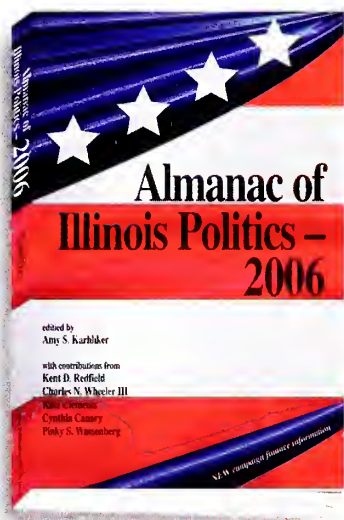
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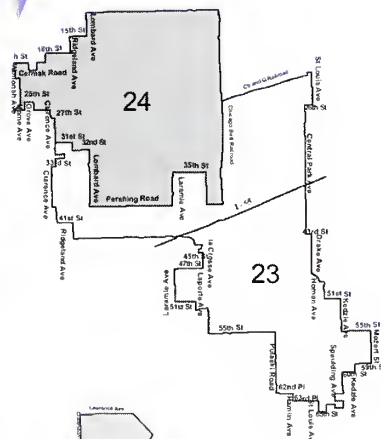
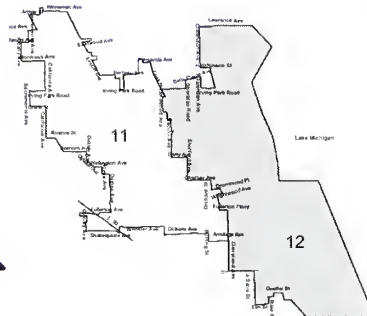
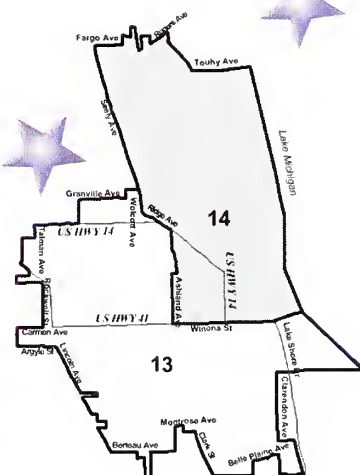
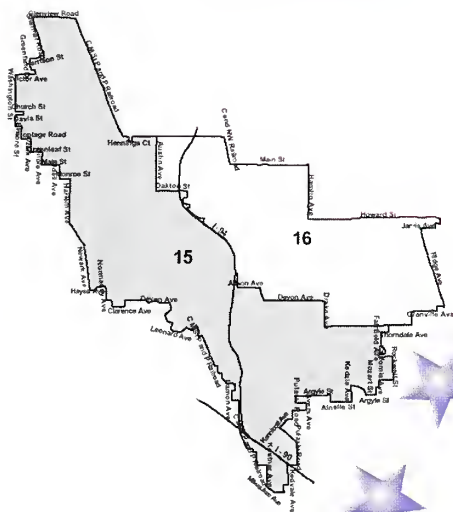
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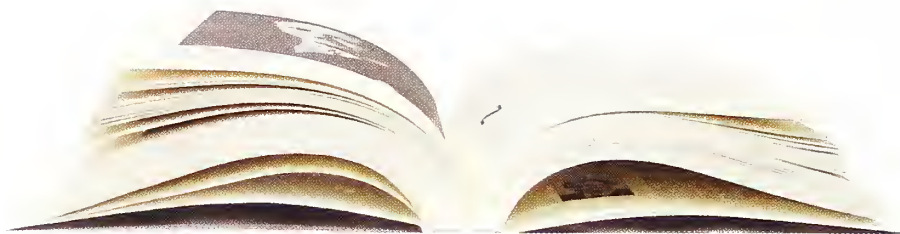
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